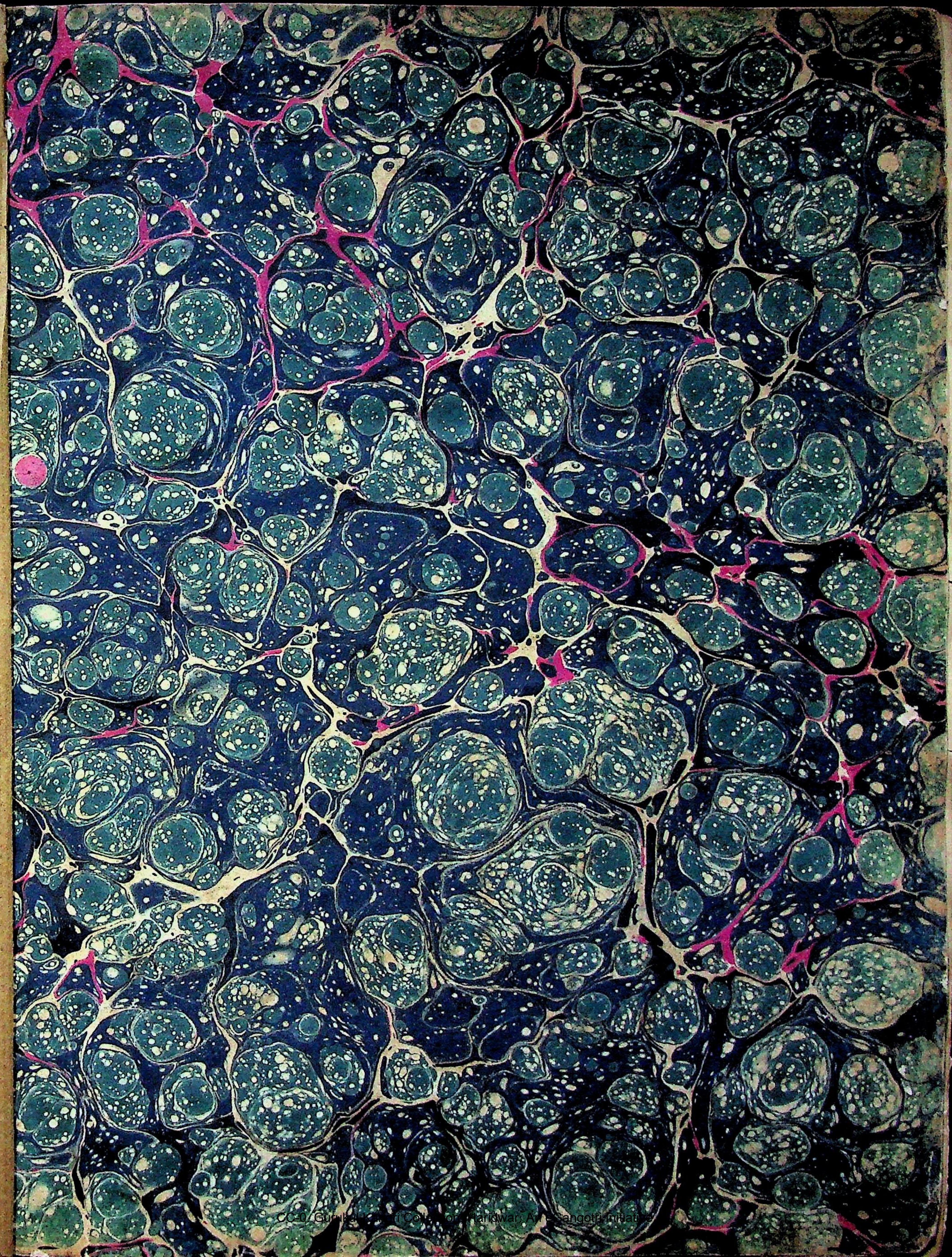
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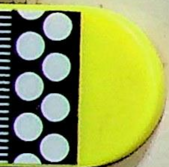
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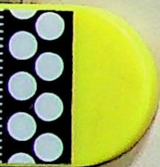
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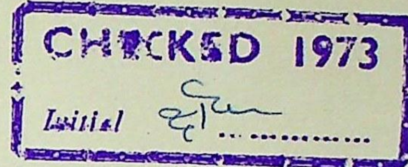
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VOYAGES AND TRAVELS

TO



INDIA, CEYLON, THE RED SEA,

ABYSSINIA, AND EGYPT,

IN

THE YEARS 1802, 1803, 1804, 1805, AND 1806.

BY

GEORGE, VISCOUNT VALENTIA.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

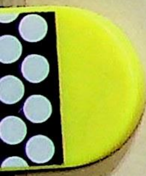
VOL. I.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR WILLIAM MILLER, ALBEMARLE-STREET,

BY W. BULMER AND CO. CLEVELAND-ROW, ST. JAMES'S.

1809.



TO

RICHARD, MARQUIS WELLESLEY,

K. ST. P. AND K. C.

LATE GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF THE BRITISH POSSESSIONS, AND
CAPTAIN-GENERAL OF THE BRITISH FORCES SERVING
IN THE EAST INDIES.

My Lord,

Permit me to dedicate the following Work to your Lordship, as a small tribute of gratitude, for the numerous acts of kindness with which I have been favoured by your Lordship, and your unremitted exertions to secure my safety and comfort, under circumstances which rendered such services doubly valuable.

A strong, and, I trust, a lasting sense of such kindness, calls for this public and explicit acknowledgment; and there is a peculiar propriety in addressing this Work to your Lordship, by whose great political talents, promptitude and decision, the extensive and important Empire of India has been preserved from the secret

machinations of traitors, combined with the open hostility of an implacable enemy.

I hope and trust, that, at no distant period, the wisdom and energy, which were displayed by your Lordship in the preservation of our Eastern possessions, will be called forth in the service of the Mother-country, and carry her triumphantly through a contest with a tyrant, whose power to do mischief, seems to have been hitherto almost as extensive as his inclination.

I have the honor to be, with the highest esteem and regard,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient servant,

VALENTIA.

Albany, London,
April 20, 1809.

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VOLUME II.

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CHAPTER VII.

I am only conscious of being incorrect in my statements in two instances:

In Vol. I. page 65, I observe that Barrackpore originally belonged to the Commander in Chief; which is not the fact. It was the country-house of the Governor General, Sir John Macpherson, and continued so under Lord Cornwallis; but Sir John Shore gave it up to the Commander in Chief, receiving instead of it £500. a year to hire a residence for himself. Marquis Wellesley took back Barrackpore, and gave the £500. a year to the Commander in Chief.

Same Vol. p. 402—The females of Tippoo's family have not been prevented from going to their husbands, but have continued at Vellore, in preference to completing a connection with individuals whom the fate of war has reduced to poverty and insignificance.

In Vol. II. are also the following errors which affect the sense.

Page 70, line 10, the words *the situation of*, ought to have been omitted.
95, — 26, *die*, ought to be *dine*.
389, — 1, *not*, ought to be *scarcely*.

In Vol. III. page 144, line 1, *Indus* ought to be *Ganges*.

By a mistake which I discovered too late to rectify, the drawing of Boodh, mentioned in page 97, was not sent to the engravers. I have however, on the whole, given many more plates than were promised in my proposals.

In Vol. III. page 81, Mr. Salt says that, " a plan is given of the Cave of Calam Negus;" but it could not be found among his papers, and has, therefore, necessarily been omitted.

In page 186 he says that, " the letter of Constantius to Aizana is given in the Appendix;" but his sudden departure prevented him from preparing it, and I have therefore been obliged to leave it out; but as the reference is given to the original, it may be consulted by any one who wishes it.

CHAPTER I.

VOYAGE OUT TO INDIA.

Embark.—Departure from the Lizard.—Arrival at Madeira.—Remarks on the Island.—Plants.—Wine Trade, &c.—Cape Palmas.—Pass the Line.—St. Helena.—Visits, and other Transactions there.—Remarks on the Island, and its Value to Great Britain.—Voyage thence to the Cape of Good Hope.—Arrival there.—Tour in the Country.—Observations on its Importance as a Naval Station.—Departure.—Isle of St. Paul.—Nicobar Islands.—Arrival in the Hoogly River.



THE GOVERNOR GENERAL'S SEAT AT BARRACKPORE.

Published May 20, 1809, by William Miller, Albemarle Street, London.

CHAPTER I.

On the 3d of June, 1802, I left London, accompanied by Mr. Henry Salt, as my Secretary and Draftsman, in order to embark on board the Minerva, extra East Indiaman, Captain Weltden, which was expected to arrive in the Downs on the 4th. On the 5th in the morning the Minerva came into the Downs, when we immediately went on board; but as the wind was right against us, we continued at anchor. We experienced various delays from calms and contrary winds, as we proceeded. At length, on June 20th, we quitted the Lizard, with a fair wind at N.E. which promised soon to take us out of the Channel.

The Court of Directors have greatly incommoded us by ordering the Minerva to keep company with the Lord Eldon, Captain Sweet, another extra East Indiaman. This is a perpetual source of delay, as she cannot keep up with us; I however console myself with the hope, that the first foggy gale will separate us; a circumstance, that would almost reconcile me to a storm. I was assured, before I left England, that the Minerva was an admirable sailer, by Captain Durham, who convoyed her to England. His character of her is perfectly true; she beats every thing near her, and is only five hundred and forty tons, yet moves through the water with very little effort, though the swell is at this moment considerable.

June 28.—The wind for the last week has continued very favourable, blowing a sufficient gale to take us through the Bay of Biscay at the rate of two hundred miles in the twenty-four hours, although frequently obliged to lie to for the Lord Eldon. We are now in lat. 33° 19′, and in sight of Porto Santo, one of the Madeiras. All the maps, except Arrowsmith's, are incorrect in the position of these islands. Laurie and Whittle place them above half a degree too far north. Heather's error is less; but Arrowsmith stands pre-eminent here, as in every other point of geographical accuracy. The fresh breeze at N.E. has prevented our being oppressed by the rapid change of climate: after sun-set the deck is so cool, that, if we sit still, we require additional clothing.

June 29.—According to our expectation, at rising this morning we were in full view of the Island of Madeira. The approach was beautiful; the rich blue of the sea, contrasted with the dark brown of the lofty rocks, which presented an insurmountable barrier to the waves; the fogs of the morning covering the

mountain, but gradually rising and displaying the rich scene of the vineyards, interspersed with the white country residences of the merchants, and other rich inhabitants, formed a scene, which the pencil only can describe. We rapidly passed the villages of Machico and Santa Cruz. On doubling Brazen Head, the town of Funchal, with the fort of the Loo, opened full on us. This place appears of considerable size, much more so than we afterwards found it; a circumstance owing to the rapid ascent of the hill on which it is built, with the whiteness of all the houses, which are raised as near the summit as possible, with platforms on the top of them. As it was nearly calm, at eleven o'clock Capt. Weltden and I quitted the vessel, and in his boat approached the shore. A gun was fired from the Loo fort; but as it did not speak an intelligible language, we proceeded. A second, loaded with ball, came whizzing over us. This we perfectly well knew directed us to bring to; accordingly we obeyed, by going to the fort, which is built on a rock, and insulated from the land. We were there accosted by an officer in bad English, and equally bad French, both as unintelligible to us as the first gun. After a delay, therefore, of half an hour, we were permitted to proceed to the beach. I was struck with the appearance of the fishermen, rowing their boats in a perfect state of nakedness; and the females looking out of their windows with a nonchalance, that nothing but habit could give. I know that by the custom of hot countries, the inferior males go naked; and I have no doubt that habit renders such a spectacle perfectly indifferent to the spectators. It was, however, the first time I had seen it, and my European delicacy revolted at it.

I was surprised, after the different accounts I had read, to find that there was not even so much surf on the beach as there is usually at Deal. We landed without the least difficulty; and after being politely hustled by a posse of English merchants, their clerks, and partners, enquiring for letters, and after having gone through the usual forms of producing our passport, and proving to the Board of Health that we were not come from the Mediterranean, and therefore were probably free from the plague, we proceeded to the house of the Consul, Mr. Pringle. I had letters for him; in consequence of which he very politely requested me to make his house my home during my residence in the Island; an offer which I accepted.

Mr. Murdoch, one of the principal merchants of the place, a gentleman with whom Capt. Weltden had business to transact, on this day, the festival of St. Peter, gave a dinner at his country house, to which Mr. Pringle was engaged; I therefore consented to accompany him. Fortunate was it that we arrived on St. Peter's day, for the good fishermen would on no account work on the festival of their patron, therefore we were secure on shore, as the wine could not till the next day be put on board. The delays of office prevented our sending for our friends as soon as we could have wished; and a calm coming on, the ship drifted so far from the shore, that they were not able to arrive before four o'clock. Mr. Salt and I immediately set off with Mr. Pringle to mount the hill, to Mr. Murdoch's. It unfortunately rained, sufficiently to prevent our enjoying the scene, which was not only beautiful in itself, but had also all the charms of novelty to me, who had never before seen the banana, fig-tree, orange, guava, and pomegranate, growing

in their natural luxuriance. These formed a beautiful contrast to the trellis of the vineyard, and the light green of the Arundo donax. The torrents from the mountains have formed deep gullies, over which we passed by small bridges. The ascent is so steep, that the whole of the roads are necessarily paved, or, in the rainy season, they would be rendered impassable. Along the centre of each an open drain is carried, which takes off the superfluous water. Mr. Murdoch's house, at which we arrived in about half an hour, is situated in the centre of a garden of sweets. Not satisfied with those, which nature has produced, he has spared no trouble or expense in obtaining whatever would add to the beauty of the scene. The Erythrina corallodendron shone pre-eminent; and the Jasminum grandiflorum scented the air, even more strongly than the orange and lemon. I was much pleased with the Banksia serrata in full bloom, and several other Botany Bay plants, which were growing in great luxuriance; the walls were covered with the Alexandrian laurel[1] and the Convolvulus speciosus. The Magnolias were double the size of any I had ever seen; and, contrasted with several of the palms, had a very good effect. Mr. Murdoch is enabled to keep these, and many other plants, in great luxuriance, by means of large reservoirs of water, which in dry seasons is regularly distributed to each plant. The Rhododendrons, Kalmias, and Azaleas were in a different state, and plainly showed that the shallow soil, and nearly tropical climate of Madeira, were by no means suited to their habit, or even existence. I should not give Mr. Murdoch the credit he deserves, if I noticed only his introduction of ornamental plants; he has lately brought in the Shaddock,

[1] Ruscus racemosus.

which prospers, and the Bamboza arundinacea, which will probably prove invaluable to the island, as I shall hereafter state. After dinner, I was much gratified and surprised by the sight of the wild English strawberry. I was informed that a short time since it had been discovered on the north side of the island, totally neglected and despised by the lazy inhabitants. The climate is hardly capable of bringing the pine-apple to perfection. It is proposed to cover them with mats during the two rainy months, which may probably answer the purpose. There is a single tree of the Laurus persea, that bears fruit, which, they say, comes to perfection. The chesnuts and walnuts are good; apples, and other European fruit, miserably bad.

The next morning by nine o'clock we were on board the Minerva. The town of Funchal is defended by a low wall, over which, I have no doubt, Remus would have leaped with the utmost facility; flanked by two forts of no possible use. It has also a citadel, and the fort of Loo, to defend the harbour. In the hands of the Portuguese, it is certainly at the mercy of the first invader. The streets are narrow and detestably dirty. The houses are good within side; the walls are stuccoed for the sake of coolness, and ornamented with prints. Several of the hotels are large. The best of them were given up by the owners to the English troops during their stay. The natives were much astonished by the discipline of the 85th regiment: the contrast between their parades and those of the miserable bourgeois of the island must have been striking. I feel much satisfaction in being able to add, that the conduct of both officers and men was irreproachable. Don Joze Manoel da Camara, the natural son of a noble Portuguese, is the present Gover-

nor. He is said not to be very partial to the English; and to feel still the mortifying recollection that British troops once garrisoned the island. He keeps up the dignity of his office, and lives in a state of splendour. His salary is under £2000. per annum; but it is a situation, which excites great competition, as it leads to the government of the more valuable American possessions. He has a country house two miles up the hill, pleasingly situated in a wood, and commanding a fine view of the valley, town, and bay of Funchal. It is an error to suppose that this is the only landing place in the island: at Machico and Santa Cruz we observed many boats, and in calm weather the landing seems perfectly good. The natural indolence of the natives has prevented them from reaping the full benefit of the fine island which they possess; not half of it is in cultivation: where the vine will not grow they occasionally sow a little wheat; but never manure the ground. Although it would be perfectly easy to raise cotton, coffee, and olives, in these situations, they have not even made the attempt. The Arundo donax occupies a space, that might, and probably soon will, be turned to a better purpose. It is used to sustain the vine, for which it is little adapted, as it decays in two years. The introduction of the bamboo, by Mr. Murdoch, will render this unnecessary; and on account of its durability, half the space will not be required for its cultivation. I am informed that the produce of the island is much increased lately. About 30,000 pipes of wine are now made, of which, on an average, 16,000 are exported; the rest is consumed in the island. The London Particular is £40. per pipe; but very good may be purchased at £35. per pipe, which is the usual price paid for the India market. I tasted at Mr. Murdoch's a very strong wine,

made from the hock grape, called Sercial; it is pleasant, but very powerful, and requires to be kept some years. It has but little resemblance to hock. The price about £6. more than London Particular. The original grape was imported from the Mediterranean. The chief trade of the island is in the hands of the English; if the country were the same, it would be greatly productive: not a moiety is at this moment in cultivation. The inhabitants are obliged to import their grain from America; yet the island more than pays the expenses attendant on the government, by a duty of £10. per cent. upon all imports except provisions; £11. on the exports; and some internal taxes. Thus it is they are enabled to remit, on an average, nearly £20,000. per annum to the mother-country. The population is estimated at 100,000. Many people of fortune and family reside there. One gentleman has above £16,000. a year, which he spends in a most liberal manner. He was educated in England. The ladies preserve the dress of Portugal, which is unpleasant and heavy. The common people are dirty and idle; ignorance and superstition are of course still prevalent.

July 1st. In quitting Madeira we immediately got into the N.E. trades. We have yet seen but few fish, and the copper bottom of our vessel has permitted us to catch still fewer. The porpoise, albicore, boneto, and flying fish, have been our only companions, excepting one small shark, which was caught, and instantly divided by the sailors.

July 2d. We this day passed the Canary Islands, 2 leagues distant from Palma, and 13 from Ferro, with the trade wind fresh in our favour, taking us at the rate of nine knots an hour. The Lord

Eldon is completely astern; and as it is squally, we shall probably lose her in the night.

July 8.—The trade wind has now quitted us; the S. W. has supplied its place, and carries us quite as well on our course. On the 3d instant we lost sight of the Lord Eldon; and passed the tropic of Cancer. The change of wind has brought with it a favourable change of weather. I can scarcely say that we have felt the inconvenience of the heat even for an hour: this is certainly owing to our vicinity to the coast of Africa during the rainy season, which is now at its height.

July 19.—The same wind, with little variation, enabled us yesterday to pass Cape Palmas, which we found laid down falsely in all the maps; it is in longitude 8° west. Laurie and Whittle have published a chart of the whole coast, said to be on the authority of five captains in the Liverpool trade. This is grossly erroneous; many lives may be lost by a deception which ought to be publicly noticed. The weather continues cloudy, but pleasant. We have had but little rain; and the breeze has carried us on an average about 200 miles per day.

July 22.—We caught a fine albicore, as the seamen call it, and dressed it; it proved excellent. It is the Scomber thynnus, or thunny-fish of the Mediterranean. The Scomber pelamis, or boneta, we have found inferior. Both pursue the flying-fish, and add much to our amusement, by crowding round the ship. Mr. Macauly, the second mate, struck a porpoise, but the grange was not sufficiently strong, and it escaped. After dinner a young shark was seen following the ship, accompanied by the sucking-fish, and pilot-fish. A piece of pork was a bait too tempting for him to resist; he

accordingly made his appearance on the deck, to the great satisfaction of the sailors, who soon cut him in pieces: he was a young one, only six feet in length, of the species Carcharias. Two of the sucking-fish were drawn up sticking to him. To complete our icthiological amusements for the day, we soon afterwards observed a whale, majestically proceeding on his journey to the coast of Africa. I could have much wished to have seen him nearer; but he was astern, and we soon lost sight of him. The weather continues pleasant: we do not however make much way.

July 26.—We yesterday passed the Line, about eight o'clock in the morning; being Sunday, it was not until this day that, according to immemorial custom, those who had not crossed before were shaved and ducked. The Captain's passengers were all exempted; the midshipmen and my servant were most mercifully dealt with. The weather is fine; and although the sun shines with unclouded splendour, the heat is not oppressive.

August 10.—For this last fortnight we have had very pleasant weather, with contrary winds, and calms, which have driven us to the eastward, and suffered us to make but little southing; instead, therefore, of being at St. Helena, as we had reason to hope, we are only in lat. south 6°. The trade wind has however at last found us; and we are speeding merrily. We sailed over the spot where Messrs. Laurie and Whittle have been pleased to place the island of Annabon. The manner in which charts are published in England is a disgrace to a mercantile nation. These three last days the sea has changed from the beautiful blue of the unfathomable ocean to a dark green. This is considered a sign of soundings; but with 120 fathoms we have not been able to find a bottom.

August 20.—At early dawn St. Helena was visible; we made it to a mile by our time-keepers, and arrived in the bay, after a passage of two months; the quickest ever made, excepting by one ship about eleven years ago. She however sailed single: had we not been encumbered for the first fortnight by the Lord Eldon, we should have made the island in much less time. We came the inner or easternmost passage; which probably will become the most usual track, as, latterly, ships have made it in less time than by stretching out for the coast of America. Captain Weltden and Mr. Salt went on shore before me; I however soon followed, in consequence of a very polite invitation from Colonel Patton, the Governor, who sent Captain Hudson, one of his aides-de camp, immediately on learning my arrival. He apologized for the smallness of his house, which, with the largeness of his family, prevented his offering me a bed; but begged, in other respects, I would use his house both in town and country as my own. Mr. Salt, Captain Weltden, and I dined with him that day, and we retired to Mr. Doveton's, where we took up our residence.

August 22.—Mr. Salt and I set out in the morning to walk up the hill to the Government plantation, which we preferred to riding, as it gave us the opportunity of collecting plants. When we had proceeded half the distance, the violence of the squalls, accompanied by rain, baffled our plans, and obliged us to proceed with the utmost expedition in our power. Wet and weary, we arrived in about an hour and a half. Fortunately it cleared up for a short time, when we walked round the gardens, which are interesting from the contrast which their verdure presents to the bleak barren mountains around, and from the mixture of plants of different

climates, that are there assembled together. The oak and the bamboo jostle each other; and the beautiful Ixias of the Cape are contrasted with the English bramble, which in many places nearly covers them.

August 23.—The fair daughters of the Governor arrived this morning at the castle, drawn in a light carriage by oxen, the only animals adapted to ascend and descend Ladder Hill. They accompanied us to the botanic garden, which, although there is a botanist appointed by the India Company, has no pretension to that title, as there has not been an attempt to collect even the indigenous plants of the island. The garden in the town, which is open to the inhabitants, has a few desirable plants; the mango, the cocoanut, the date, the real banian-tree, and other species of Ficus are thriving. The bamboo forms a pleasant shade; and a very fine plant of Barringtonia is just out of bloom; but which, much to my satisfaction, promises fair to perfect its seed. Erythrina corallodendron, and Melia azederac, are great ornaments at this moment. It is the depth of winter here, and the oaks have totally lost their leaves.

August 26.—We rode to breakfast at the Plantation-house, and thence to Sandy Bay. The scenery is singular and magnificent. Sandy-Bay Ridge, to its highest summit, Diana Peak, is covered with verdure. The valley beneath is cultivated, and interspersed with cottages, among which our host's, Mr. Doveton, is eminently beautiful. The opposite side, naked, as when it arose from the great abyss, with several ragged rocks rearing their heads a considerable height above the red, white, and purple clay, which divides the hills into regular strata of unequal thickness, altogether forms a

magical scene, to which the ocean itself, from the point where the valley first became visible, was only a suitable back-ground.[1]

August 27.—Mr. Porteus, the Botanist of the India Company, and I, set off in the morning, to examine the vegetable productions of Sandy-Bay Ridge. After mounting as high as we could on our horses, we quitted them to scramble into a scene of vegetation, which to me was perfectly new. The different varieties of cabbage-tree,[2] as they are called, are numerous; but as they were just coming into bloom, I could not ascertain their name. They are syngenesious. The Dicksonia, or tree-fern, grows to the height of fourteen feet, and has leaves five feet long; the other ferns are numerous and beautiful. These were all crowded together on the summit of Diana's Peak, overshadowed, in some parts, by the gum-tree,[3] and other trees, which to me were unknown. I have only to regret that the spring is not more advanced, and that our stay will be too short completely to examine the vegetable tribe in this island; a work which I have no doubt would well repay the labour of a botanist. We collected several specimens, returned to dine at the Plantation-house, and from thence to the town.

August 28.—During the absence of the Deputy Governor, Mr. Doveton officiates in that capacity; he is consequently in possession of Longwood, the country residence attached to that office. By invitation we this day accompanied him thither. The road is on the opposite side of the town to Ladder Hill, and of equally easy ascent; it winds along the ridge, almost encircling Rupert's

[1] Of this scene Mr. Salt has given a very beautiful drawing in his folio volume of views, published by Miller.

[2] The Solidago spuria of Linné. [3] The Solidago leucadendron of Linné.

Valley, for nearly three miles; and at length ends in a large elevated plane, or rather gentle ascent, on the summit of which is a flag-staff, from which it takes its name. The scenery is more like England than any thing I have seen in the island, and is much admired by the natives for a reason that had no weight with us; it is more level, and was once covered with the gum-wood-tree, but avenues were opened in it, which gave the S. E. wind a free entrance: the consequence was its gradual destruction. Young trees have been planted in abundance, which thrive well in defiance of the wind; though from the elevation of the ground, and the situation to windward, it has here full force to act. I regret that a more profitable tree has not been substituted for the gum wood, which only grows to the height of about thirty feet, and is of no other use than as fire-wood. Colonel Patton is anxious to introduce the larch, which I have no doubt will thrive well, if it can be preserved from the goats. These are permitted to live all over the island, although the mischief they do is incalculable, and totally precludes planting, without the previous expense of enclosing. They indeed supply fresh meat for the hospital; but this surely might be better arranged, by permitting a conditional destruction, the farmers being bound, in that case, to supply a substitute for the sick, which they would willingly do. At Longwood, as in every other high part of the island, the soil is excellent; it suffers, however, under a peculiar inconvenience, want of water. There is great reason to hope that this evil may be obviated; in which case fifteen hundred acres of meadow land, that are now nearly useless, will be rendered capable of supporting cattle, sufficient to supply the island and the ships, touching here, with fresh provisions.

August 30.—This morning the Lord Eldon arrived. On parting company with us, she endeavoured to make the outward passage; but was driven by the south-west winds close in with the coast of Africa; and after meeting with the same weather we had encountered, and having also sailed over the site of Annabon, arrived here just ten days after us. Though a new ship, she has suffered much, which is ascribed by the captain to the press of sail which she was obliged to carry, in order to keep up with us. Her arrival is unfortunate, as Colonel Patton has informed us, that we must remain here till she has delivered her cargo.

September 12.—At seven, we set off in the Government barge to visit the windward parts of the island. The swell was unfortunately greater than any day since our arrival: the wind also was high; we were obliged therefore to give up that part of our plan, and to limit our expedition to the rocks between Sugar Loaf and Barn Cliff, where we amused ourselves with fishing. We caught several species, some of which, being very beautiful, Mr. Salt drew. From the appearance of the rocks, I have very little doubt that this spot was the crater of one of the volcanoes, which probably in ages past gave birth to the island of St. Helena.

September 14.—Mr. Salt and I were escorted by Captain Hudson to see Sandy Bay, the chief landing-place on the windward side of the island. The day was fine when we set off, and continued so till we had passed Sandy-Bay Ridge; it then began to rain, and as the wind was full in our faces, we were soon completely wet; nevertheless we persevered, and arrived at Captain Hudson's little habitation. The rain ceased, and the heat of the sun soon dried us. We visited the fort and the rocks, but found nothing particular.

The seed of a species of Convolvulus is washed on shore here which must come from the coast of Africa; as is also that of a smaller species, and the large bean of the Mimosa gigantea. The view of Sandy Bay, taken from the sea shore, will give an excellent idea of this singular and picturesque valley; on one side of which the conical pile of rocks, called by the inhabitants Lot, Lot's Wife, and Lot's Daughter, forms a conspicuous object. How they acquired these titles it would now be difficult to ascertain.

September 23.—Capt. Sweet being perfectly ready for sea, after having detained us here a fortnight, Capt. Weltden gave us notice that he should sail in the evening. The Governor invited us to an early dinner; after which, accompanied by his aid-de-camp, he attended me to the water side. As I embarked, the fort on Ladder Hill saluted me with 15 guns, a compliment which Capt. Weltden also paid me on my arrival on board the Minerva.

The East India Company, when they first became possessed of the island of St. Helena, by the grant of Charles II. offered to every man who would settle there, ten acres of land, and a cow, on paying a quit-rent of 1*s*. per acre. By this means above 2300 acres are become free, of which only a small part remains in the hands of the descendants of the original colonists; the rest having been purchased by the richer inhabitants, and thrown into larger farms. The present price of land is about twenty-five years purchase. Four thousand acres have at different times been leased out by the Company at a very low rent, the highest not exceeding 16*s*. per acre. Formerly they granted lands for lives, or a term of 99 years, but these leases are mostly expiring, and at present none are made for a longer period than 21 years.. About fifteen hundred acres

are in the occupation of the Governor, the Lieutenant-Governor, and the Company, which, added to the free and leased lands before mentioned, amount to between seven and eight thousand acres now under cultivation. The residue of the island, which is considered as containing in the whole thirty thousand acres, is in a great degree useless, though a large portion might be rendered serviceable as grazing land, were it not for the frequent scarcity of water. In no part of the world is farming a more profitable business than in St. Helena. In favourable seasons the richest ground will produce three crops of potatoes in a year, yielding an aggregate of four hundred bushels per acre, which are here worth eight shillings per bushel; a most immoderate profit! As the very great quantity of rats, that infest every field, prevents the cultivation of any kind of grain, the farmers are limited to grazing, and the raising of fruit and vegetables. Oranges, limes, lemons, figs, grapes, guavas, bananas, peaches, pomegranates, melons, water-melons, and pumpkins, are the produce of every farm. A few mangos, cocoa-nuts, pine-apples, and strawberries, are to be seen at the Governor's table only. One solitary apple orchard thrives, and yields to the proprietor not unfrequently five hundred pounds a year. In every other part of the island where this favourite European fruit has been tried, it has failed. The Arum esculentum is cultivated only for the use of the slaves. The flocks of sheep are by no means adequate to the consumption of the island, or equal to what it would support. The English breed would answer best; but the laws of England prohibit the exportation of sheep; nor has any indulgence in this respect been hitherto obtained in favour of this important little colony, though application has, I understand, been frequently made for that

purpose. Owing to the scantiness of their stock, the inhabitants are obliged to kill their mutton too young; it is therefore very indifferent; the same cause accounts for the beef being lean and ill coloured. The pork is good at the tables of the more opulent inhabitants, but what is purchased in the market is detestable, from the animals having been fed on the heads and offal of the coarser kinds of fish. The goats are numerous and well tasted.

I have been thus particular in enumerating the productions of St. Helena, as its only value is in affording a supply to the fleets that touch there in the course of a long voyage. Unfortunately, these supplies are not so ample as they might be, even in the present state of the island, owing to the baneful spirit of monopoly, which has extended itself into the middle of the Southern Atlantic; and every article above mentioned, except beef, which is sold at five-pence per pound, in consequence of a maximum fixed by Government, is at a price that limits its consumption to the tables of the officers. I cannot resist giving the prices of a few articles, as a proof of my assertion: turkeys, two guineas each; a goose, one guinea; small ducks, eight shillings each; fowls, from half a crown to five shillings each; live pigs one shilling per pound; potatoes, eight shillings per bushel; cabbages, eighteen-pence each; lemons, one shilling per dozen; and pumpkins half-a-crown each. Fish, though there are nearly seventy kinds around the island, and most of them in abundance, is immoderately dear. There cannot be the least doubt that all sorts of fruit and vegetables at present cultivated might be brought to market in such abundance as to afford a plentiful supply to the crew of every ship that arrives. At present the farmers combine to keep up the price, and prefer leaving the fruit and

vegetables to decay, to selling them for less than they have hitherto demanded. This evil might easily be obviated, and the combination broken, by a public garden, to be cultivated by the Government slaves, the produce of which might be sold to the ships at a price sufficient to clear all the expenses, and allow a handsome profit. In this garden might be raised different kinds of fruit-trees, to be afterwards dispersed over the island. The mango, which is now a solitary plant in the possession of the Governor, would thrive in the different vallies. The Loquot, and other Chinese fruits, would probably grow in any part of the island. But private individuals, who think only of present profit, will never undertake the necessary experiments. They must be conducted by Government, to answer any good purpose.

The increase of the stock of cattle and sheep is an object of still greater importance. At present, although beef is served out to the crews of the Indiamen on their arrival, yet the supply is so scanty, that, for a great part of the year, the inhabitants are obliged to live on salt provisions, which are issued from the stores of the East India Company, at an annual loss of full six thousand pounds.

Very extensive tracts of land, particularly at Longwood, are at present useless from the want of water. As all the vallies are supplied with running streams, which have their source at a considerable elevation, it seems probable that some solitary spring may exist above the level of these tracts; if not, by the aid of machinery, water might be conducted to them. The expense would be amply repaid, by the many thousand head of cattle that would be maintained on them. The water that finds its way to the sea along Rupert's Valley, would answer the purpose extremely well, and is

at present of no use. I was told that seasons have occurred, in which the drought has been so great as to threaten the annihilation of all the live-stock on the island. The hills of St. Helena are destitute of trees, except Diana's Peak. The consequence is, that though the clouds which are borne along by the S.E. trade winds constantly roll over their tops, and even extend some way down their sides, yet little moisture is retained. On Diana's Peak, on the contrary, when the ground is moistened, the deep shade of its luxuriant vegetation prevents the rays of the sun from entering and parching it up. Indeed, in the winter season, a day seldom passes without several showers falling on it. If, therefore, the other hills were covered with wood to their summits, would they not have the same effect of attracting the clouds in the first instance, and afterwards of retaining the moisture in the soil, in defiance of a tropical sun? From what I have seen in other climates, I am strongly inclined to believe that they would, and at any rate the experiment is worth a trial, as the scarcity of fire-wood is great, not only for the shipping, but for the consumption of the inhabitants. The native woods of St. Helena are by no means valuable; the trees do not grow to any considerable height, and their texture is in general light and spongy. The East India Company ought to direct the introduction of the different forest trees from Bengal, many of which would thrive in the variety of situations which the island affords, and perhaps even the giants of the Eastern forests, the teak-tree and the banian-tree, may hereafter be seen covering the lofty eminences of Diana's Ridge.

The geometrical elevation of the principal eminences of the island are as follows:

Diana's Peak is above the level of the sea -	2692 feet.
Cuckold's Point is - - - -	2672
Halley's Mount - - - -	2467
Flag-staff - - - - - -	2272
Barn - - - - - -	2015
Longwood-house - - - -	1762

Much still remains to be done to render St. Helena a convenient place for vessels to take in supplies. The pier which has been erected at James's town is too small for the landing of casks and stores: if it were carried out a little farther, it might answer every purpose, after the removal of some sunken rocks that are close to it. A kind of bason would be then formed, where the boats might land, in defiance of the swell, which is occasionally very great. Till the arrival of Colonel Patton, the water-casks were obliged to be landed, in order to be filled. At present water is conveyed in pipes into the boats. I have no doubt that the active zeal of the Colonel will obviate many other inconveniences. I only hope that he may not be thwarted from home, in consequence of the East India Directors giving credit to others, who, with less judgment, will be infinitely more forward to recommend their plans to notice.

The island of St. Helena is a very expensive settlement to the East India Company. The civil and military establishment costs, on an average, forty thousand pounds per annum; nor can it be lessened, as there is no superfluity of civil servants, and the garrison is at present less than is requisite for the defence of the island, consisting only of one regiment of infantry, and two companies of artillery. Contingencies and extraordinaries add at least ten thousand

pounds to the annual expenditure, and at least £200,000. is sunk, as a dead capital, in naval and military stores, warehouses, and public works. One expense of the East India Company does high credit to their humanity: they not only keep warehouses for all kind of articles that can be required by the ships that touch here, but also for every other thing which may be necessary for the natives, or tend to their comfort. On these they demand a profit of ten per cent. which by no means covers the expenses, independent of freight. The only revenue of the Company is derived from the rents of their lands, amounting at present to about eleven hundred a year, though probably, if out of lease, worth nearly thrice that sum; and the profits of the monopoly of arrack, which nets on an average six thousand pounds.

St. Helena was originally fortified by lines across James's Valley, and Rupert's Valley, the two largest in the island, and which were considered as the only places where a boat could land. When Captain Munden retook it from the Dutch in 1673, he erected a battery to command the small inlet, where he landed. Since that period, fortifications have been added in different places to leeward, and in Sandy Bay to windward, though a boat can hardly land there in the most moderate weather, on account of the heavy swell which the trade wind brings from the southern Atlantic. Most of the batteries are so elevated, that very few shots would probably hit a vessel under sail. Lately a new system has been adopted, by building a citadel on High Knowl; and twenty thousand pounds have been laid out on a spot, where there is no water! As St. Helena is certainly a place of great utility, and as it would be an incalculable evil if it should fall into the hands of an enemy, it ought

to be properly fortified. Nature has made it extremely strong; but I doubt if any thing that has hitherto been done has added much to its real powers of defence. It is a pity that some man of great experience in the engineering line has not been sent out to examine the island, and make a report at home; as the East India Company have already proved that they are willing to incur any expense that is necessary for its welfare or security.

It is with the highest degree of approbation that I must speak of the slave-laws of St. Helena. I am sorry, however, to observe that, prior to the time of Colonel Patton, many of the regulations have been evaded, and others openly violated. With an attention to their morals highly proper in a Christian country, it was positively ordered that the slaves should receive religious instruction, and that they should be obliged to marry. The former has been neglected; and of a compliance with the latter, I believe there has not been a single instance for the last fifteen years. It was also ordered, that no person should be at liberty to emancipate a slave, without giving security to the Company that he should never become burthensome to them. Yet for some time it has been customary to emancipate slaves without this security, with the permission of the Governor and Council; and these people are now, in their old age, living at the expense of the Company. Many of these have purchased their freedom from their masters, out of the savings of their extra labour; others have been discharged, to avoid the expense of feeding and clothing them in their old age, which by the law their masters are obliged to do. A slave cannot be punished by his master with more than twelve lashes; any additional chastisement must be inflicted by order of a magistrate, who will likewise afford redress

on any complaint of a slave's not being properly fed or clothed. The number of dogs kept illegally by the slaves is a great evil; as they are employed not only to kill the game, with which the island abounds, but also too frequently to catch sheep in the night, when the slave resides so far up the country as to render an immediate detection improbable. Two instances of this kind occurred during my stay. These crimes can be attributed only to the want of moral instruction. I have no doubt that the slave of St. Helena, were he properly taught, would soon become a valuable member of society. He has the usual good qualities of his race, and is as well provided for as the labourer of England. The incitements to crimes in this isolated spot are few indeed. The importation of Negroes has been long at an end; and it is by no means an uninteresting fact, that since that period their number has increased, and is increasing. It would indeed be extraordinary if the human species were to do otherwise in any part of the globe, where food was in abundance, and no ill treatment counteracted the bounty of Providence. The inhabitants of St. Helena treat their slaves with great kindness, and indeed in every respect appear to be a worthy race of people.

The fort of James Town, the capital, is in lat. 15° 59′ S.
- - - - - - - long. 5° 49′ W. of Greenwich.
The variation of the compass was in 1777, 13° 15′ west.
- - - - - - - 1796, 15° 52′ west.
- - - - - - - 1802, 16° 30′

September 27.—From our leaving St. Helena to the present day we have been carried pleasantly along by the S.E. trade winds: we have only had to regret the society of the Lord Eldon, who sails

worse than ever, and has obliged us every evening to shorten sail. The wind, after changing to the south, blows from the west.

September 30.—The trade wind again prevails, and is again taking us to the westward; this, added to the incumbrance of the Lord Eldon, leaves us no hopes of a quick passage. For nearly the whole of yesterday, we were under our top-sails and fore-sail only; yet the Lord Eldon could with difficulty keep up with us, with every sail set. The weather is uncommonly pleasant, as we have hitherto experienced but little cold, and no rain.

October 5.—For these last four days we have had a fresh gale, and heavy squalls; fortunately the sea kept down, but we were obliged to double-reef our top-sails, a circumstance that never before had happened during our voyage. The Lord Eldon kept close to us, and afforded us not a little self-congratulation; we saw the waves repeatedly break over her, while the Minerva went bounding on with her decks perfectly dry. The gale, which carried us considerably to the south, has now abated, and left us only light variable winds, which gives us reason to hope that we shall soon be able to bear up for the Cape. The weather is so piercingly cold as to have obliged us to add to our bed-clothes, and take to our winter dresses. We have observed the marine barometer for several days, and have been completely deceived by it. Previously to the gale of the four last days, it daily and rapidly rose; now that the weather is become mild, it is as rapidly falling. I consider it as foretelling only a change in the wind: the moisture usually attendant on a south-westerly wind depresses the glass, and the dry south-east has a contrary effect.

October 9.—A light breeze has sprung up from the north after a calm, and our head is now right for the Cape, nearly in the latitude

of which we now are, but have 28 degrees of longitude to run down. A great number of pintado birds, albatrosses, and other sea-fowl, surround the ship; of the former we have caught several with lines and hooks, baited with pork; but the latter have hitherto been too cautious.

October 20.—Yesterday at twelve the Cape was visible from the mast head. At two this morning I was awakened by Captain Weltden, informing me that we were in the Bay. Curiosity made me rise to take a peep at the celebrated Table Mountain, which by the light of the moon had a fine effect, and in grandeur by no means disappointed my expectations. At three we cast anchor. Soon after breakfast Captain Weltden and I set off in his boat for the shore: the wind blew fresh from the N. E. and we with difficulty made our way to the landing-place. We ought indeed to have waited for the health-officer to come on board; but this we neglected, as the appearance of the weather made it doubtful whether he would venture out; and if the wind freshened, we might, by this delay, have been kept for several days, without being able to land; by no means an unusual circumstance at this season of the year. Our first visit was to Sir Roger Curtis, the Admiral, at whose house we fortunately met with the acting Governor, Lieutenant-General Dundas, and Mr. Pringle, Agent to the East India Company, and Commissary General, to whom I had letters from his cousin at Madeira. Our reception was civil; and we immediately entered on business, by enquiring the ultimate destination of the vessels. To our great disppointment we found that Ceylon was out of the question, since there remained only part of a regiment to be conveyed to that place, which would go in one ship; and orders having been sent out not to

separate the Minerva and the Lord Eldon, we were to proceed together to Bengal.

Finding that I was likely to continue at the Cape a fortnight at least, I consulted with my old friend, Brigadier-General Hall, whom I had the pleasure of finding here, respecting a visit to the interior, who kindly promised to go with us, and his Brigade Major, Hippisley, obligingly undertook the whole arrangement of the party. The 23d was fixed on as the day of our departure.

October 21.—At seven in the morning General Hall called, with horses, to take me and Mr. Salt to breakfast with a Mr. Kersteen, at Wineberg. The day was clear, and the sun not very powerful during our ride; the road was good, and led over ground nearly level, covered with a brush-wood of Ericæ and Proteæ, with the Table Mountain rising majestically on our right. I was much pleased with the scene for its novelty, and could scarcely at first refrain from stopping to observe more closely many Ixias, Geraniums, and other plants which I had with care cultivated in England, growing neglected in such immense profusion: the Aristæa cyanea predominated. I observed many plants, that still continue scarce in England, probably because every collector supposes they must have been previously sent thither on account of their vicinity to the Cape Town. Our host gave us a polite reception: we consulted him respecting our intended expedition on the morrow, and he not only assisted us with his advice, but gave us letters of introduction to a friend of his, at whose house we were to stop the first day. Finding we were but five miles from Constantia, where the celebrated wine of that name is made, and knowing that we should not have any other opportunity of visiting it, we determined to continue our ride

although the sun was very hot. Major Hippisley, who had accompanied us, remained with me, while the General and Mr. Salt rode forward. By delaying, in order to get some specimens, we lost our companions, and, soon afterwards, our road; by which means we went about a mile out of our way. On any other occasion I should have rejoiced at this accident, as it led us through a wooded country; but the sun now became so powerful, that I regretted every thing which kept me exposed to its rays. A vineyard may in Italy be a beautiful object; but at the Cape nothing can be more unsightly. The vines are permitted to grow only to the height of three feet, and have all the appearance of a wood just cut down. This was only the beginning of summer, consequently the fruit was not ripe. To add to our vexation, the proprietor of the place was absent: I was therefore obliged to return to town without seeing his cellars, which are considered as the finest in the colony.

October 23.—Major Hippisley having hired two covered waggons, each drawn by eight horses, with a Hottentot for a driver, and a slave to assist him, Messrs. Eden, Salt, and I, assembled to breakfast this morning by six o'clock at General Hall's. About seven we mounted our carriages, and proceeded through the Cape Town on our intended expedition. These waggons are the only machines adapted to the roughness of the roads, as they have every advantage of strength, and difficulty of being overset. The Dutch ladies use them constantly; but an English female would hardly bear the violent jolts, which perpetually occur from the gullies formed in the roads by the rains, which are never attempted to be mended by the colonists, until they become so large as to render a passage over them not only dangerous but impracticable. The five gentlemen,

for the sake of society, mounted into one waggon, in which there is not comfortable room for more than four. The hind seat, being more elevated, and fixed, instead of suspended by leathern braces, was so unpleasant, that it was agreed to take an alternate share in the evil. My servant, accompanied by General Hall's orderly, who was to serve as assistant cook, was placed in the second waggon with the guns, luggage, and a chest of wine, the only article of provision which we took with us, excepting an English cheese. The Cape wine, though by no means unpleasant, is very apt to disagree with strangers, and the cheese is detestable; we were therefore happy to be obliged to Captain Weltden for these two articles. Our road lay over the extent of sand which separates the peninsula of Cape Town from the Hottentot country; a tract which, I have no doubt, was formerly covered by the sea. Nothing could be more dreary, nor was it very interesting in a botanical point of view; we nevertheless collected a considerable number of plants. The heaths were not in bloom, but the Ixiæ, Gladioli, and smaller bulbou. Geraniums were, and we could not have been at the Cape in a better season for collecting them. Our horses went very well at about six miles an hour: our driver, whose name was September, managed his horses with great skill, a qualification for which the slaves in this country are remarkable: they drive eight in hand with the utmost facility, and will kill a small bird when on the wing, with the lash of their long whip. About the middle of the day we stopped to feed and rest our horses, and proceeded on foot to seek for plants and birds, but with very indifferent success. At four o'clock we arrived at Cowberg, where we meant to sleep; and having delivered Mr. Kersteen's, letter to Mynheer Andreas Conti, we were politely

received. Our baggage and wine were stored in two apartments, containing five beds; the horses were turned loose, to feed on green barley; and the orderly, with the permission of our host, paid a visit to the poultry-yard, where he seized on some very fine ducks, which were instantly consigned to the slaves, to be plucked and prepared for our dinner. The house was spacious and good; our beds tolerable; and the roughness of the roads had given us every disposition to enjoy a protracted rest.

October 24.—We made an excellent breakfast, the milk, butter, and eggs being good. Our host prudently refused to make any charge for us or our horses; in consequence of which we gave him fifteen dollars for the party, but nothing to the slaves, as we knew the mistress would take our donation from them. We departed at seven o'clock. The country, for the first four hours, was equally unsightly with that which we had seen yesterday. At two o'clock we stopped, according to our determination, and devoured our provision, while the horses were grazing. We sent to a neighbouring boor for wine for our servants and slaves, and learning that a wedding was celebrating, proceeded thither to pay our compliments to the bride and bridegroom. The younger part of the company were dancing merrily to a tabor and pipe, while the elder males smoked, and the females distributed wine. All of us, except Major Hippisley, joined in the dance, which seemed to give them great satisfaction, as they had learnt from our servants, who the General and I were. The scene was amusing, and we should have stayed longer, had we not been told that we had a great distance to go, and a river to pass. We therefore took our leave, under a salute of small arms from the company. The scenery began to improve as we approached the

mountains. The Berg river was highly picturesque. At the place where we had to pass it, it divided itself into two branches; the first was rendered difficult by very large rocks, over which the waggons were obliged to be dragged; the second was wider and much deeper. I confess that I by no means felt myself easy on finding the water enter the waggon, and the horses obliged to swim; September, however, made such excellent use of his whip, and encouraged the cattle so loudly with his voice, that we were safely landed on the other side before we had time to consider our danger. We were now only anxious for our servants and the baggage, which not appearing for some time, September unloosed a horse and swam back again. His superior abilities soon set every thing right, and we beheld the other waggon enter the river and pass it with the same facility which we had experienced. This second delay, though it enabled us to admire at our leisure the scenery, which was far the most beautiful we had seen since we left the Cape, made us so late, that night overtook us on one of the extensive and sandy plains so common in this country, and which, being only covered with brush-wood, have no marks to guide the traveller. At length we discovered a light issuing from a small house to which we proceeded. On enquiry, we found we were nearly two hours drive from De Wall's at the Twenty-four Rivers, where we meant to have slept. It was completely dark, and our horses were fatigued, for we had travelled full forty miles. It was difficult to determine what we should do: to proceed to our original destination seemed impossible: the house in which we were, consisted of only a kitchen, filled by a large family of Hottentots, and a bed room occupied by the master and his wife, who was in momen-

tary expectation of delivery; so that to stay there was equally out of the question, although he very hospitably offered to receive us, and to give us the best his cottage could afford. At length we learnt that, at a short distance, resided a person named Nicholas Bestern, where we were assured we could be well accommodated. A Hottentot was tempted, by the offer of a glass of brandy, to run before the horses, and guide them on the way. In about half an hour he conducted us in safety to the expected habitation; but we were most completely disappointed. On opening the door, we discovered an old man at supper in his night-gown, and beside him two perfect specimens of Dutch boors, with their wives and children: more heavy looking, full-fed animals, in the shape of men, I never beheld. The old man was cross and deaf: he grumbled much at our arrival, and scolded us for travelling at so late an hour. Fortunately, he soon retired to bed, when we procured from his more civil daughters, an excellent supper of eggs and butter. Our lodging was much worse, for we could discover only three beds, and those so detestably bad, that the two gentlemen who were obliged to sleep on the baggage had, comparatively, no great reason to complain of their lot: but we were travelling, and it was our business to make the best of it.

October 25.—After breakfast we departed for Mynheer De Wall's, near the Twenty-four Rivers, where we arrived in about two hours, having passed the Klein Berg river, which, though very wide, was so low, owing to the late fine weather, that it hardly wetted the horses' legs. The rivers through the whole of this country descending from the lofty mountains, are, in winter, rapid and deep torrents, but in summer their beds are nearly dry: a few hours rain will raise

them to an impassable height; and again in a few hours they will return to their usual bed. The day was rainy and windy, which obliged us to keep down the curtains of our waggon : we saw therefore but little of the scenery or plants. This was, as we afterwards found, no loss to us, being obliged to return by the same road.

We met with a most hospitable reception from Mynheer De Wall; and as the rain continued, we determined to stay and dine with him, and in the evening proceed to the Roode Sand. He was a well informed gentleman, and his family looked contented and good-humoured ; his house was excellent, and his fare good. He advised us next to go to his wife's brother's, at the Roode Sand, which we resolved to do. Nothing could be more dreary than the plain of low brush-wood, which we at first travelled over, level as the sea, and bounded by the distant mountains, which, though grand, were now by custom become familiar to us. The scene however, began to change, and improve in beauty as we approached the pass, where the Klein Berg makes its way from the Roode Sand through the lofty range of mountains which separates the Cape land from the interior of Africa. It fortunately cleared up ; we therefore determined to walk through the Kloff,* both to have a better view of the river and mountains, and to avoid the intolerable jolting of our waggons. The road was conducted along the banks of the river, at different degrees of elevation. It was rendered nearly impassable by masses of large stone, which had rolled from the height above, and by the inequality of the rock itself, which the boors had not taken the trouble even to break or level. After about three miles of very fatiguing work we cleared Roode Sand Kloff, and had the valley

* A pass between two mountains.

before us, with a most excellent road, by which we were shortly conducted to Mynheer De Witt's. Neither he nor his wife was at home; but we were received by a pretty little girl, his eldest daughter, who shewed us to two apartments, in which to our great joy, we discovered five good beds. The whole appearance of the place was respectable, and impressed us with a favourable opinion of our host, in which we were fully confirmed on his arrival. General Hall understood Dutch, and through him we were obliged to converse, which answered every necessary purpose. Our supper at length appeared, good in its kind, and abundantly sufficient for twenty people. After doing credit to it we retired to our beds.

October 26.—It rained during the whole of the night and part of the morning; but fortunately cleared up about eight, when we were preparing to depart. We had again to pass the Kloff, which we did on foot. Mr. Eden and the Major carried their guns, but had no sport. I was more fortunate in my botanical pursuits, and Mr. Salt made two very beautiful sketches. We were told, it would take us but five hours to go to Waggon-maker's Valley, where we meant to sleep; we therefore made more delay than usual, and were properly rewarded; for it was perfectly dark before we arrived. On driving to the house we found only a slave, who informed us that his master did not live there, but at a house a short distance off. We desired him to show us the road, and leaving our waggons, immediately proceeded to another very good habitation, where, on opening the door, we discovered Mynheer Wagh at supper with another man. Although the Dutch are extremely happy to show that hospitality to strangers, which is necessary in a country where there are no inns, yet they are ever dissatisfied if they arrive

at unseasonable hours: this was now the case; and Mynheer Wagh at first made numberless excuses to avoid receiving us. As, however, we insisted on staying, declaring it was too late to seek any other lodging, he found remonstrance was vain, and immediately relaxed into good humour, and provided for us an excellent supper.

October 27.—On our departure our landlord would receive no payment; we were therefore obliged to give the money to the slaves, from whom it would find its way to the master. I should observe, that at his old house there is the finest orangerie in the settlement: the trees were forty feet high, and loaded with the most delicious fruit, at the same time that the fragrance of the bloom scented the air to a considerable distance. The day was most beautiful, and the scenery different from any that we had yet seen. Several rivulets descended from the mountains, and gave a fertility to this valley, that formed a strong contrast with the arid sand around, covered with a stunted brush-wood, which is only interesting to the eye of a botanist. It was a perfect oasis in the deserts of Southern Africa. The beauty of the spot has brought hither a number of inhabitants, whose white houses, surrounded with lofty oaks, greatly enrich the view. We were soon conducted to a river, which, as usual, was called the Berg River, over which we passed in a boat, guided by a rope, in the German manner. The delay occasioned by our double equipage gave some of our party an opportunity to bathe, and enabled a boor, mounted on an excellent horse, to overtake us: he had a little Hottentot mounted on another, and led a third. In this way the boors will travel a prodigious distance, occasionally changing the horse, and resting at night at different houses. He had been from home ever since the 23d, and

enquired of us whence we came, whither we were going, and what was the cause of our journey. These questions are usual among the Dutch, and are considered as by no means impertinent. He was good-humoured, and amusing; told us his name, his business, the number of his family, and the reason of his quitting his home. Having kept company with us for several miles, and smoked his pipe, which he ingeniously lighted with his flint, he gave his horse the rein, and was soon out of sight.

We arrived about the middle of the day at the Paarl, a beautiful village, the houses of which were, as usual, white-washed, and surrounded by trees. A lofty mountain formed a back-ground to the view. On our road to Stellenbosch we passed through Mr. Duckett's farm at Klapmuty. This scientific agriculturist came over with Sir George Yonge, to endeavour to introduce the English method of husbandry into the colony. The Dutch had at first a perfect contempt for his implements, and method of managing the ground; experience has, however, convinced them that he was right; and had the English continued masters of the colony, I have no doubt that his coming over would have answered many essential purposes. He was not at home, which I much regretted. We arrived in good time at Stillenbosch, and took up our abode at the house of an old acquaintance of the General; he is a Hessian, of the name of Wolfferum, who married a woman of large fortune at Batavia, with whom he returned hither, where he lives in a very comfortable manner. He and his family speak English; and having associated much with that nation, his manners have nothing Dutch in them. The town is very neat, and the oaks, which form an avenue in every street, contribute to its coolness and beauty. I have seldom seen finer trees than

those growing in the front of the Landroost's house. They grow here rapidly, and will bear to be transplanted at a very large size; but the timber is indifferent, and by no means equal to the worst produced in northern climes.

October 29.—The horses having been continually worked since they left Cape Town, we yesterday gave them a respite. This morning was rainy, yet we determined to visit the cascade at French Hoek. That we might have the pleasure of Wolfferum's and his daughter's company, we took both the waggons. The weather continued intolerably bad, till we arrived at the house of Jacob de Villiers, where we intended to dine. I was the more mortified by the inclemency of the day, as the country was evidently more beautiful than any we had yet passed through, particularly in the vicinity of a Mr. Rousseau, a relative of the celebrated Jean Jacques. At dinner Villiers produced some excellent red wine, of which Old Wolfferum immediately purchased one cask, and I another, to be delivered at the Cape, for fifty-five rix dollars. We proceeded through the rain to visit the cascade, De Villiers acting as guide. The waggon road made it four miles, though we had been told it was only one. I procured at another farm-house a horse and a little boy to show the path to the bottom of the cascade, after it should be necessary to quit the waggon. Most fortunately it cleared up as we approached, and the clouds rising, gradually discovered a scene truly magnificent. Through a cleft of the mountain fell a considerable volume of water, above 170 feet perpendicular, and then rolled over immense rocks, with brushwood overhanging them, till it reached the vale below. Several smaller cascades, caused only by the rain, broke over different parts of the mountain. Mr. Salt took the accompanying view of it, in defiance of the cold; but the whole of

the scene is on too large a scale to be introduced in one picture. I understand that we saw the fall to great advantage, as usually at this season of the year it is nearly dry. Most assuredly there is no spot I have seen during our whole journey that I should so much rejoice to revisit as French Hoek, not only on account of the cascade, but of the beauty of the whole surrounding country. Wet and weary we returned to De Villiers, where we parted with our host, and set off instantly on our return to Stellenbosch. In defiance of the rain, I had collected at French Hoek some seed of Protea grandiflora, and a considerable quantity of bulbs, chiefly Hæmanthus, which serve as food to the baboons, that abound among the rocky declivities of the mountains. It is the richest field for botany that I have met with.

October 30.—We departed at ten this morning, satisfied with our residence at Wolfferum's house, and pleased with the partiality he expressed for the English, which I believe was not feigned. We dined, as usual, by a rivulet, on cold meat, finished the last bottle of our wine, killed the first covracapelle we had seen, and also a beautiful snake, called the ribbon snake; and without having met with the least accident, finished a tour of 300 miles, arriving safe at Cape Town about seven o'clock in the evening.

October 31.—I find that, on examination, General Dundas and Sir Roger Curtis have determined that the Minerva is capable of holding 300 men, and that General Vandeleure has chosen to go in her himself; consequently a division of his regiment, the 8th Light Dragoons, accompanies him. The ship is not yet ready, from the necessity of providing water and provisions for so much larger a number than was expected.

November 3.—On paying a visit this morning to Sir Roger Curtis,

I was favoured with a sight of the letter from the Court of Directors, in which they gave directions for the Lord Eldon and Minerva to keep company, and assigned for a reason, "that they would probably take on board bullion to a considerable amount at St. Helena." As I never heard that we had done this, I instantly went to Captain Weltden, and was confirmed in my idea; it seemed therefore to me, that all objections to our separation were removed. I spoke again to the Admiral, who fully concurred with me; but said, that it depended only on Mr. Pringle: to him therefore I went, and used every argument in my power to persuade him to direct us to separate. At length he agreed, that if the two Captains would write to him, stating that they had no bullion on board, and that they wished to proceed singly, he would give it as his opinion, that it was for the good of the service, that they should do so. This was accordingly done, and we are quit of the Lord Eldon, which will probably make a difference of a fortnight in the time of our arrival at Calcutta.

November 5.—Captain Weltden called in the morning, and said, that he was instantly going on board. Mr. Salt and I accompanied him, and at five, with a brisk gale, we quitted the Cape of Good Hope.

Impressed, as I strongly am, with a conviction of its importance, as a settlement, to Great Britain, it was with great regret that I had seen, during my short stay at the Cape, the preparation to deliver it back to the Dutch. I have observed with astonishment, the systematic plan of the East India Directors to depreciate the value of this settlement; and to the credit which Ministers gave to their assertions, I, in a great degree, attribute the facility with which it was abandoned at the peace. I sincerely hope that a dear-bought expe-

rience may not convince them of their error; but I much fear that, should another war arise between France and Great Britain, they will find that the losses they have sustained by the privateers of the Mauritius, will have been trifling, in comparison to what they must suffer from a hostile navy at the Cape. The India Directors have indeed issued their orders to the Captains in their service not to approach within one hundred leagues of it, not aware that in latitude 39 south, the south-westerly winds blow the whole year with such force, as to prevent any ship from making way against them; whereas, close to the Bank of Lagullus, the wind is generally from the eastward, or, at any rate, the current sets to the west, sufficiently strong to carry a ship forty miles a day. From these circumstances every vessel is obliged to keep close to the Cape, and would, consequently, in case of hostilities, be at the mercy of an enemy in possession of that settlement. This might indeed be remedied by a strong squadron cruizing there constantly; but the difficulty of supplying it with provisions would be no trifling impediment. St. Helena, in its present state, would by no means be able to afford the necessary supplies, and the nearest port would therefore be at the Brazils, which could not be reached in less than a month. Very heavy gales, which frequently occur off this promontory, would also render it nearly impossible for any fleet to keep its station; and once driven away by stress of weather, or obliged to bear away for St. Helena, in consequence of a loss of masts, or any other injury, the ships of the enemy might come out, and take every Indiaman or merchantman passing by unprotected. Fortunately, however, the evil would not be of long duration; the value of the Cape would become so apparent that it would be again attacked, and I have no doubt would easily

fall; for so long as Great Britain retains the dominion of the sea, she can always land any number of troops at a distance from Cape Town, and, by occupying the peninsula, cut off all supplies from the interior, and oblige it to surrender. The fortifications are by no means strong towards the land, and the citadel itself is commanded by high lands; so that if it should be thought advisable to attack it without loss of time, the result would be certainly favourable. The conduct of the British, since it has been in their possession, has been such as to conciliate all the respectable people of the settlement, who did not scruple to express great regret at their departure. They say, that were their mother-country free, the case would be different; but that they now consider themselves as passing under the dominion of the French, whom they have detested ever since the Cape was garrisoned by them in the American war. One person, at whose house we were obliged to insist on having some provisions, told us at last, "that we were as bad as the French, in compelling them to provide whatever we pleased; however there was one difference, that we paid for every thing, and they never paid at all." The Dutch have a still more powerful reason for regretting the departure of the English, the state in which they now actually are, and are likely to be, from the Caffrees. This brave and warlike nation had been tempted, by the rebellion of the boors in their vicinity, to cross the Fish River, and endeavour to regain part of their country which had been obtained from them by the Dutch. Brigadier General Vandeleur, with the 8th dragoons, and some infantry and Hottentots, had been sent against them; but had found it a difficult business to resist their undisciplined valour, and had even lost forty men in the different engagements, twenty of whom, and an

officer, were cut off at one time. When the peace recalled the General to the Cape Town, no power remained to resist them, and they advanced into the country nearly as fast as he retreated, and are actually in possession of a considerable part of the colony. Though the period has long elapsed in which the Cape was to have been surrendered, no regiment has yet arrived to replace the British troops; and, from the state of Holland, it seems doubtful whether she will be able to send a sufficient force to repress these dreadful invaders, who are urged on by the most powerful inducements of plunder and revenge. Of the Hottentots, the inhabitants are almost equally afraid. This inoffensive race, who formerly were only mentioned as sunk in sloth, drunkenness, and bestiality, have been brought forward, since the British possessed the colony, in a new and very different point of view. A large number of them have been embodied, and taught European tactics; in consequence of which it has been discovered that they are intelligent, active, faithful, and brave; and that their former vices were owing to the Dutch, who, taking advantage of the inclination which all uncivilized nations have for spirits, had destroyed their strength by encouraging intoxication, and then degraded their minds by the most abject slavery. The cruelties exercised by the boors on these defenceless beings exceed all credibility. Brigadier General Vandeleur assured me that he had himself pushed aside the musket of a boor, when in the act of levelling it at a Hottentot; at which the monster was extremely indignant, and, after much reproach, finished by asking him, whether he meant also to prevent his shooting his slaves? It is astonishing that the Hottentots have so long submitted to the tyranny of their masters; and one cannot be surprised that the latter now feel

alarmed, when a large body of the former are well disciplined, and have arms in their hands. Yet, from all I have learned of the gentleness of the Hottentot character, I believe that their fears are groundless, and that they will receive no injury, unless they become the aggressors. If indeed the British should attack the Cape again, I have no doubt that the Hottentot corps would be rejoiced to join a nation, to whom they are indebted for their liberation. The designs of the extraordinary man who rules over France, and who seems to place no bounds to his ambition but the empire of the world, in my opinion, render the Cape of particular importance. Whether it may be his object first to attack the British power in India, or to secure the Spanish possessions in South America, the Cape will become an important position for the attainment of either. He can there, during peace, collect, by small degrees, a force that may at the commencement, or even before a declaration of war, fall with an irresistible force on his unsuspecting prey. The salubrity of the air will season his soldiers, and enable them to bear the heat of a tropical climate; and until they shall be wanted, they may be maintained at a much smaller expense than in any other part of the world. I have no doubt that this was in the contemplation of Buonaparte, when he placed the Cape ostensibly in the hands of the Dutch, but, in reality, completely under his own control. I must ever regret that he had not to negociate with those enlightened statesmen, who had ever felt and proclaimed the value of the Cape, and who would probably have seen into his real motives for demanding it, and have firmly, and, I have no doubt, successfully, resisted so dangerous a cession. The civil and military expenditure of the Cape has exceeded the revenue from £200,000.

to £300,000. per annum. It has been argued, that the value of the Cape, as a settlement, is not equivalent to such a loss. This assertion is founded on the calculation of the outgoing, since the Cape has been in the possession of the English, which is by no means a fair criterion. The Dutch left the fortifications in ruins, the public buildings nearly falling down, and in the barracks not one article of furniture, as the Dutch soldiers are accustomed to find their own. The British Governor, who was not limited by the narrow spirit of the Batavian government, not only repaired the old, but built several new fortifications; he put every public building into a perfect state of repair, and, as is the custom in the service, provided all the necessary barrack-furniture for the troops. These different expenses cannot be fairly calculated as a part of the permanent expenditure at the Cape. A garrison of nearly 6000 men had been kept up during the war, which in peace might be greatly diminished. Another very material alteration might take place in the expenditure at the Cape, by an increase of the Hottentot corps, which at present consists of only five hundred men. Experience has now so fully shown their capability of becoming good soldiers, that a diminution might take place in European troops, nearly in proportion to their increase. Their fidelity to the British they have proved by fighting even against their own countrymen; and their antipathy to the boors is naturally such, as to render any union between them contrary to the British interest, impracticable. It is also fair to suppose that the revenue, which under the Dutch was only about £25,000. a year, but which rose gradually under the British to upwards of £100,000. a year, would continue to increase. But even were the expense to continue to exceed the revenue to the amount

of £200,000. a year, I should consider it as well bestowed in preserving a colony, which might be so beneficial in the hands of the British, and would become so injurious to her trade in the hands of an enemy.

While this book is going to the press, in 1808, I have the satisfaction of knowing that the Cape of Good Hope is again, and I hope will be for ever, in the possession of Great Britain. I only take notice of this to observe, that I consider the present situation of Europe as adding greatly to the value of this settlement. The insatiable ambition of Buonaparte, and his rooted antipathy to this country, have at length closed the whole Continent against us, and necessarily obliged us to seek in other places what we used to procure from it. Of these, the most important articles are grain and wine. The Cape would fully supply both, if the necessary measures were adopted there by the Government. A finer country for the production of grain does not exist, and a very small proportion only is yet in cultivation. Every species of grape, that has been tried, has succeeded; and the only cause of the inferiority of the Cape Madeira, is the ignorance and negligence of the Dutch in making it. Their vineyards are ill managed, the grapes being permitted to touch the ground; and they cut off the whole branch with the fruit, which they throw into the press, communicating by such means an unpleasant flavour to the wine. Were the usual precautions taken, I have no doubt, that some kinds of wine now made in France, Portugal, and Germany, might be produced in this colony, and add greatly to our independence of those parts of the world, which have been permitted by Providence to fall under the iron sceptre of our implacable enemy. If I had entertained any doubts of the value of the

Cape of Good Hope as a settlement, they would have been removed, by the able work of Mr. Barrow, whose perfect knowledge of the country has enabled him to place, in a proper point of view, its resources, and the prodigious extent to which its advantages may be carried.

November 6.—With a brisk gale from S. W. we ran out of Table Bay, and continued, till noon, steering W. by N. when, hoping we should be able to clear the Cape, we tacked and stood to the S. E.; the wind and current however driving us to the north, we have just found it impossible, and are again going to change our course.

November 10.—For these four days we have been driven to the westward by the easterly gales, and are now in latitude 37° 56′, longitude 12° 24′ east; consequently, instead of making any way since we quitted the Cape, we are 300 miles farther from the place of our destination; the weather, too, has been unpleasant, and the swell very great.

November 15.—The wind has changed more to the south in the night, which has greatly increased the chill. It is as cold as at the same season of the year in England. This is the usual effect of the wind blowing directly from the frozen southern latitudes, even in the middle of summer. We however feel compensated by having a fair wind, which enables us to keep our course. Captain Weltden means to go to 39° south, where he will be certain of westerly winds to carry us into 90° east, when he will beat up for Calcutta. He is obliged to make this very great angle, because the trade-wind in the Indian Ocean, and the monsoon in the Bay of Bengal, are both against us at this season of the year.

November 18.—The 16th and 17th were very pleasant days, and

the wind being to the north of west, made it much warmer; but this day at twelve o'clock it began to blow very hard from the same point, and carried away the main-top-gallant yard in the slings. We got it down as soon as possible. At four we took in the first reef in the main-sail; the others had been reefed some days. At five the squalls were so heavy, that we took in the second reefs in fore and mizen top-sails, and handed the main-sail. At six it encreased to a very hard gale from the west, with violent squalls, and rain. We handed the fore and mizen top-sails, and took in the third reef in the main top-sail. We were now obliged to keep the ship before the wind. It blew, in the sailors' phrase, great guns. It was impossible to stand on the poop without holding, and then with difficulty. The swell was kept down by the violence of the wind itself, which carried the white spray from the top of the waves in such abundance, as to resemble a storm of hail. The ship, of course, laboured much, but remained tolerably dry on deck, and made so little water that we pumped only twice in twenty-four hours. The scene was magnificent, but too awful to be agreeable. I am glad I have seen it once, but I hope I never shall again.

November 19.—About two in the morning the gale fortunately began to abate, and we were able to set the fore top-sail; and at six we left only two reefs in the fore and main top-sail. There is a heavy swell from the southward, and it is very cold; we however make good way, and the ship is as comfortable as could be expected.

November 24.—The weather has been moderate though unpleasant; the effect of a considerable swell. We have not been disappointed in meeting with favourable winds in these high southern

latitudes, of between 38° and 40°, in which we now keep: the breeze is increasing. A very great quantity of birds accompany us, chiefly albatrosses, Cape geese, pintados, and a bird called by the sailors the silver bird. Occasionally a few of Mother Carey's chickens have appeared.

December 1.—Cape hens have appeared, and very large flights of birds. . We are approaching the volcanic isles of Paul and Amsterdam; the breeze continues steady. We have run the last three days 722 miles, yet could never complain of the motion: for two hours we went 12 miles an hour.

December 3.—At four in the morning Captain Weltden called me, when we were abreast of the island of St. Paul, distant about five leagues; it bore W. by N. and by our observations it should be in 38° 6′ south, and 77° 16′ east; Amsterdam in 38° 42′ south, and 77° 20′ east. We have now left the Cape nearly a month, and had not the weather at first been so unfavourable, should have had a very fine passage; as it is, we have made 62° of longitude since the 15th of November; and by our log we have run 3283 miles, which averages about 182 per day. We were to day in 78° 22′ east of London, and are beginning to bear up towards the north, from necessity, not choice, as the wind is getting to the eastward.

December 4.—The weather is very fine; but the wind is too much to the east, which has carried us into 35° 41′ south. The air is sensibly warmer, and the sea perfectly smooth. At twelve o'clock the wind obliged us to steer N. by W.

December 12.—Latitude 27° 24′, longitude 93° 82′. For these last three days we have had very pleasant, though fresh breezes from the west, which have brought us into this latitude and longitude.

At six this morning we met with the south-east trade wind; it blows very fresh, which is doubly acceptable, as it prevents the oppression of the heat of the sun, which is now within a few miles of being vertical. The change from the chill breezes of the south-west to a tropical climate has been so rapid, that most of us are unwell.

December 15.—Latitude 17° 53′ south, longitude 95° 06 east. The trade wind continues very fresh, and the heat moderate. Yesterday, for the first time, we saw several flying-fish, and some few birds; which, from their distance, I could not ascertain to belong to the land; though, from their manner of flight, I suspected it. We go, on an average, 200 miles per day.

December 24.—Yesterday we met with the S. W. wind, accompanied with very heavy rain. It has driven us on better, but this evening seems inclined to calms.

December 26.—We spent our Christmas-day as nearly as possible on the Line. At twelve we were 17 miles south, and before the day was over, were just north. In the evening it was perfectly calm, in consequence of which we placed lanterns in the rigging, and, with the soldiers' wives for partners, joined in a merry dance. The scene was very gay, for the soldiers covered the sides of the vessel, the poop, and the rigging.

December 31.—Latitude 5° 10′ S. longitude 93° 52′ E. The last day of the year has given me the first sight of Asia; for at six this morning the coast of Sumatra was visible, at the distance of fourteen leagues. The mountains are very lofty, and, in general, clouds hang over them. At twelve the rain fell on the land, and rendered the whole invisible.

January 1, 1803.—At daylight we saw the southernmost of the Nicobar Islands, and by eleven o'clock we were within two miles of it. At this extremity it is little elevated. A fine beach, woody in many places to the edge of the water, with the tall cocoa-nut tree occasionally breaking the level line, was succeeded by a low range of hills, gradually rising from the sea, and backed by lofty mountains apparently bare. The whole composed a beautiful scene to an eye long accustomed to the uniformity of the sea, or the brushwood and sterile rocks of the Cape; and we were regaled by a breeze wafting from the shore an atmosphere of fragrance, which added to our regret at the impracticability of landing. A canoe put off with cocoa-nuts, navigated by three men of the Malay countenance, copper-coloured, and well-shaped. They would not come on board, and the breeze soon carried us away. During the night we passed under the lee of the Great Nicobar, and early in the morning of the 2d, the islands of Katchull and Camorta were in sight. From the former a canoe came alongside, laden with fruit, which we purchased. The men were ugly, and the women by no means objects of temptation. Both sexes were naked, except a small apron worn by the females, and a strip of cloth passing round the waist, and between the legs, of the males. As we approached the island of Teressa the soundings were irregular; and we found the island of Bomboka laid down wrong in all the charts, bearing nearly E. S. E. of the south end of the former, instead of N. E., as they have placed it. On the entrance of the passage between these two islands, are two or three rocks visible above water. We ran along the lee of Teressa, which differed in appearance from the rest, in having extensive tracts on the hills free from wood, and covered with herbage; a circumstance which pro-

bably renders it more healthy. The surf beat heavily on the shore, so as to deter us from attempting to land in our boats: it did not however prevent the natives from coming off in their canoes. They called to us to come to an anchor, which Captain Weltden determined to do; and accordingly let go the anchor in ten fathoms water. A calm succeeding, the swell carried us rapidly toward the shore, so that in a few moments we had but four fathoms water, with the rocks visible under the ship, and ahead of us. The Captain immediately ordered the cable to be cut; and a light air providentially catching our top-sails, we were enabled to back out; and thus, with the trifling loss of an anchor, escaped an imminent danger of shipwreck. As the state of the winds did not promise us a short voyage, it was thought advisable to stand for Car Nicobar, in order to take in fresh provisions.

On the 4th of January we anchored off the west side of that island, opposite to a village composed of huts, elevated about four feet from the ground, to be out of the reach of the serpents, with which it abounds. The Captain went on shore, and was received civilly by the natives, who however requested him not to permit too many of his crew to land. On the next day he persuaded some of the natives to accompany him on board, leaving one of his people as a hostage. They are a very muscular race, but far from well made; their features, though ugly, have a pleasing expression: the constant use of the betle renders their large mouths very disgusting, and their irregular teeth perfectly black. During the day we all went on shore, and found them good-natured and inoffensive, as their apprehensions were dispelled. Intercourse with strangers had probably given them a suspicious turn; for not one appeared with-

out a weapon in his hand, which he never for a moment quitted. They required money for their provisions, though they also expected knives, handkerchiefs, and other useful articles as presents. Dollars were the coin they preferred. We obtained a considerable quantity of cocoa-nuts, betle-nuts, papaus, plantains, limes, shaddocks, and a root which they call cachu, and which is evidently a species of arum. Fowls and pigs were in great abundance; but yams, which we most wanted, were not to be procured; nor did we see a single pine-apple. A species of ginger grows wild in the island. The woods are chiefly composed of the Barringtonia, Cocoa-nut-tree, Tournefortia, Borassus, and Areca I saw: the Aletris fragrans, and several shrubs, which, not being in flower, I could not ascertain. Indeed, the natives objected to our going far into the woods. The beach is sand, intermixed with coral rock; over which there is a very heavy surf, except a part nearly opposite the village, where the boats landed without difficulty. Around the village were stuck tall pieces of bamboo, each of which, we were told, marked the place where a person had been interred; and between it and the shore was a range of small cleft sticks, with a piece of flesh stuck in each; these compose a talisman to keep off death, which has visited them in its most dreadful form, the small-pox. An evil spirit is worshipped through fear, and has the best habitation in the place; in the front of it are suspended offerings of different kinds. The view by Mr. Salt will give a very good idea of this whimsical scene. The people speak a broken English, mixed with Portuguese, by means of which we found no difficulty in communicating with them. We set sail from the island at night, leaving a male and female goat, of which they promised to take great care. The pigs purchased

here, upon examination, proved to be of the species called Sus Babyrussa. I think it right to mention as a caution to any captain that may hereafter be obliged to touch here, that our cable was nearly worn through by the rocks, which consist of a species of madrapore.

On January 17th we descried the Continent of India, bearing N. W. by W. distant four or five leagues. At twelve o'clock the black pagoda of Jagarnaut, which was the first object we could distinguish, bore N. N. W. We ran along shore with a pleasant breeze the whole evening, and saw immense quantities of jelly-fish. They were small, and adhered to each other, so as to form the appearance of a snake; when taken out of the sea they separated, and moved about with great velocity. The breeze being light, it was the 20th before we got to the pilot-ground at the mouth of the Hoogly river. On the 20th the purser left the ship with the public dispatches, by whom I forwarded letters to Lord Wellesley.



CHAPTER II.

Arrival at Calcutta.—Fête given by the Governor-General, Marquis Wellesley, to celebrate the Peace.—Visit Barrackpore, his country seat.—Arrangements for the Journey to Lucknow.—Leave Calcutta.—Pass by Hoogly, Burhampore, Jungepore, Bhaughulpore, Monghyr, Patna, to Benares.—Residence there.—Visit to the Princes, grandsons to Shah Allum.—Visit to the Rajah of Benares.—Account of Benares.—The Princes return my Visit.—Leave Benares.—Juanpore.—Sultan Akbar's Bridge and Palace there.—Enter the Nawaub Vizier's Territories.—Sultaunpore.—Arrive at Lucknow.

CHAPTER II.

January 25.—The wind continuing completely contrary, we have been obliged to tide up the Hoogly, making only twenty miles a day. The navigation from Sorgur to Calcutta is excessively difficult from the intricacy of the passages between the sand banks, and the very sudden turns which the river makes. Vessels that draw more than seventeen feet water, cannot be taken higher than Diamond Harbour, except at spring tides ; and even then it is dangerous, if they draw more than eighteen ; yet upon this river are the settlements of the French, Dutch, and Danes, as well as the English. We are at anchor off Fultah, a mud village, similar to others which we have seen. The river itself is grand from its great body of water, but the quantity of mud which it rolls down considerably lessens its beauty. The banks are high, the country beyond is perfectly flat, and covered thickly with timber and brushwood, the haunt of innumerable tigers. To these Sunderbunds the Hindoos resort at this season in immense numbers, to perform their ablutions in the Ganges, and many, to sacrifice themselves to the alligators, which they effect by walking into the river, and waiting till the ferocious animals approach and draw them under; others perish by the tigers every season ; yet the powerful influence of superstition still draws them to this spot.

This evening a letter arrived from Mr. Graham, inviting me to his

house, although he had not then received the letter which I had forwarded from Mr. Johnson. I also received, by expresss, a very handsome answer from the Marquis Wellesley, inviting me to a fête in celebration of the general peace, which was to be given at the new Government-house, on the 26th. A few hours afterwards, one of his state barges arrived to convey me to Calcutta. As it was late in the evening, I determined to stay till the next morning.

January 26.—At seven in the morning, attended by Mr. Salt, I took my leave of the Minerva, after nearly eight months residence in her. I must render a parting tribute to the merit of Captain Weltden, by declaring that I believe it is impossible for any one in his situation to surpass him in abilities, information, manners, or good nature. The state barge in which we embarked, reminded me of the fairy tales. It was very long in proportion to its width, richly ornamented with green and gold; its head, a spread eagle gilt; its stern, a tiger's head and body. The centre would contain twenty people with ease, and was covered with an awning and side curtains: forward were seated twenty natives dressed in scarlet habits, with rose-coloured turbans, who paddled away with great velocity. After breakfasting at a tavern on shore, we proceeded on our voyage. As we advanced, the river became clearer, and the scenery was much improved by the country seats of the English, which covered each bank: they were in themselves picturesque, being white, with extensive porticos to the south, and the windows closed by venetian blinds painted green. Every house was surrounded by a plantation of mangos, jacks, and other oriental forest trees. We landed at Mr. Farquharson's garden, about five miles from Calcutta, where Mr. Graham's carriage was in waiting to convey us

to his house, at which we arrived about two o'clock, and met with a most hospitable reception.

Mr. Graham resides in Chouringee, in a very excellent house, where I found apartments prepared for me, and for Mr. Salt. After a dinner at home with several friends of Mr. Graham, we all proceeded to the Government-house. The state rooms were for the first time lighted up. At the upper end of the largest was placed a very rich Persian carpet, and in the centre of that, a musnud of crimson and gold, formerly composing part of the ornaments of Tippoo Sultan's throne. On this was a rich chair and stool of state, for Lord Wellesley; on each side, three chairs for the members of council and judges. Down to the door on both sides of the room, were seats for the ladies, in which they were placed according to the strict rules of precedency, which is here regulated by the seniority of the husband in the Company's service. About ten, Lord Wellesley arrived, attended by a large body of aid-de-camps, &c. and after receiving, in the northern verandah, the compliments of some of the native princes, and the vakeels of the others, took his seat. The dancing then commenced, and continued till supper. The room was not sufficiently lighted up, yet still the effect was beautiful. The row of chunam * pillars, which supported each side, together with the rest of the room, were of a shining white, that gave a contrast to the different dresses of the company. Lord Wellesley wore the orders of St. Patrick and the Crescent in diamond. Many of the European ladies were also richly ornamented with jewels. The black dress of the male Armenians was pleasing from the variety; and the costly, though unbecoming, habits of their females, together with the

* Chunam is a beautiful kind of stucco, nearly equal to scaglione.

appearance of officers, nabobs, Persians, and natives, resembled a masquerade. It excelled it in one respect: the characters were well supported, and the costume violated by no one. About 800 people were present, who found sufficient room at supper, in the marble hall below, thence they were summoned about one o'clock to the different verandahs to see the fire-works and illuminations. The side of the citadel facing the palace was covered with a blaze of light, and all the approaches were lined with lamps suspended from bamboos. The populace stole much of the oil; and as it was impossible to light so great a range at one time, the effect was inferior to what it ought to have been. The fire-works were indifferent, except the rockets, which were superior to any I ever beheld. They were discharged from mortars on the ramparts of the citadel. The colours, also, of several of the pieces were excellent; and the merit of singularity, at least, might be attributed to a battle between two elephants of fire, which by rollers were driven against each other. The night was very damp, and gave very severe colds to many. We returned to our home, much pleased with our evening's entertainment. I could not but feel gratified by the very polite reception which I had received from his Excellency, who seemed in every thing even to anticipate my wishes.

January 27.—I had this morning a private audience of Lord Wellesley, in which I consulted him respecting my future plans. He advised me, as the season was so far advanced, either to proceed immediately by dawk* for the upper provinces, or to take the remainder of the monsoon to visit Penang, and Madras, and afterwards return to Calcutta, in time to proceed up the river with the

* Post, having bearers stationed at short distances to relieve each other.

rainy season. The former he seemed inclined to prefer, in which I concurred, as my intentions were to visit Ceylon and the Mysore, which I could not do this season; and without that, the Madras plan would be only so much time thrown away. He repeatedly begged me to point out in what manner I wished for his assistance, and assured me, that I should have it in the fullest manner, both as to passports, and even escorts when necessary. He gave me a general invitation to his table, both in town and country: and observed that, although, strictly speaking no rank was known in India, except from official situation, yet he should certainly give me the precedency of every body, except the immediate members of the executive government.

February 4.—For several days past I have felt myself considerably indisposed with a violent cold, so much so indeed, as to confine me to the house. I have, however, received the visits of a number of friends of Mr. Graham, and of the gentlemen attached to his Excellency's person, and have paid my respects to the Members of Council and Judges, on whom, as composing the executive Government, I waited on my arrival. This day I dined with his Excellency, and was received with the same politeness and attention as on my first visit. Having consulted my friend Mr. Graham, I had definitively resolved to proceed for Lucknow, as soon as the necessary preparations could be made: this I notified to his Excellency, and he assured me, that every order should be given, that could render my reception satisfactory, at the different stations through which I had to pass on my journey.

February 12.—For these several days past my time has been most completely occupied in receiving and paying visits, and in a

round of dinners. My reception has been such as I had every reason to expect from the character of my countrymen in the East. Amongst other morning excursions, Mr. Graham and I visited the Botanic Garden, which is under the care of Dr. Roxburgh. It affords a wonderful display of the vegetable world, infinitely surpassing any thing I have ever before beheld. It is laid out in a very good style, and its vast extent renders the confinement of beds totally unnecessary; yet, I think, it is a pity that a small compartment is not allotted to a scientific arrangement. The finest object in the garden is a noble specimen of the Ficus Bengalensis, on whose branches are nourished a variety of specimens of the parasitical plants, Epidendrons, Linodorums, and Filices. The water, also, is beautiful, being covered with red, blue, and white Nymphæas. Utility seems to have been more attended to than science. Thousands of plants of the Teak tree, the Loquot, the grafted Mango, and other valuable fruit and timber trees, have from this place been disseminated over our Oriental territories; and at present it is a complete centre, where the productions of every clime are assembled, to be pistributed to every spot where they have any chance of being beneficial. The nutmeg was in considerable perfection; but the Mangusteen, though often brought, has never survived its transplantation one year. The chief novelties are from Napaul and Chittagong. Most of the West India plants are making their way here, and will probably thrive well. It is by far too hot for European vegetables, and of course many even of our pot herbs are in the list of their desiderata.

February 14.—In consequence of a general invitation, I yesterday proceeded to Barrackpore, Lord Wellesley's country residence: Mr. Graham and Mr. Salt accompanied me. We arrived before

breakfast, and I found his Excellency just returned from his ride. The situation of the house is much more pleasing than any thing I have yet seen. It is considerably elevated above the Hoogly River, on a very extended reach of which it stands: directly opposite is the Danish settlement of Serampore: on the sides are pagodas, villages, and groves of lofty trees. The water itself is much clearer than at Calcutta, and covered with the state barges and cutters of the Governor-General. These, painted green, and ornamented with gold, contrasted with the scarlet dresses of the rowers, were a great addition to the scene. The park is laid out in the English style; and the house, at present unfinished, is well adapted to the climate, having a beautiful verandah on every side, and the rooms being on a very ample scale. This place originally belonged to the Commander in Chief; but Lord Wellesley took possession of it on being appointed Captain-General, and has improved it with his usual taste. Several of the bungalows* belonging to the lines have been taken into the park, and are fitted up for the reception of the Secretaries, Aides-de-Camp, and visitors. His Excellency had ordered one to be prepared for me, of which I immediately took possession. After breakfast at the house, we returned to our own habitations till dinner; his Lordship being busily employed with his different Secretaries in preparing dispatches for England. At dinner, however, I had the pleasure of several hours conversation with him respecting India, and the several important additions which he had made to that part of our empire. It was with great regret that I felt myself obliged this night to return to Calcutta; but the hot weather was most rapidly approaching, and, as a new comer, I was fearful

* Bungalows, Hindostanee houses

of exposing myself too much to it during a journey of eight hundred miles. At his Excellency's request, I left Mr. Salt behind me to take views of the place; and after dinner embarked, accompanied by Mr. Graham, in a state barge. It is about fourteen miles by land or water from Barrackpore to Calcutta: we stopped, however, about three miles from the town, where we were met by Mr. Graham's carriage. It is by no means safe to go down to the shipping at night, as the great velocity of the tide frequently causes boats to be lost by running against the cables of the vessels.

February 20.—On the 18th Mr. Salt returned, much gratified by his visit, as he had not only been treated with an attention highly flattering to a young man, from a person of Lord Wellesley's elevated rank, and acknowledged talents, but had also received the warmest applause from his Excellency and others, on the rapidity and fidelity with which he sketched the scenes from the river, whither he had accompanied them the day after my departure. As since his return he had nearly finished a drawing in water-colours of the house and grounds, I carried it with me, together with some views of the Cape, on going this evening to Barrackpore to take my final leave of his Excellency. After dinner I had a long private audience, and quitted his Excellency, most deeply impressed with a sense of his past kindness and his future good intentions towards me. No mean suspicions of my motives for visiting this country were harboured, but a manly, open, and generous assistance was afforded me in the acquisition of every political information, with facility and pleasure. We returned at night, and finally arranged every thing for my departure on the following morning. I have, through my friend Mr. Graham, purchased three palanquins

in which Mr. Salt, I, and my English servant, proceed by dawk; my luggage goes chiefly by the Ganges in a small boat, escorted by two seapoys, and under the care of two of my native servants. We take with us indeed, in six bangys,* sufficient changes of linen till the others arrive, which, from the lowness of the water, will probably not be for three months, as the Cossimbuzar river is closed, and they are obliged to proceed by the Sunderbunds.

February 21.—My indefatigable and intelligent friend Mr. Graham determined to accompany me as far as Hoogly, whither, in consequence of the great heat, we meant to proceed by water. At ten in the morning Mr. Salt, he, and I, set off in his carriage for Chitpore gaut, where his Excellency had promised one of his barges should be in attendance. My servant, with our palanquins, proceeded to a gaut still higher up, where small boats were prepared for them. On our arrival we were not a little disconcerted at finding that no boat was in sight. The tide was nearly turned, and as the distance to Hoogly was 26 miles, we required the whole of the flow to convey us thither: waiting was therefore out of the question. We were much mortified at the change from a splendid, and, what was still more important, a cool and expeditious barge, to a small boat covered only with reeds; yet with this we were obliged to content ourselves; and accordingly, about eleven o'clock, embarked with the turn of the tide, which carried us upwards of four miles an hour, with the assistance of only two naked dandys † paddling at the head of the vessel. The breeze was fresh, and right against us; but the delay

* Baskets of wicker-work covered with painted cloth, carried by a man, and suspended by a cane across his shoulders.

† Watermen.

that it occasioned was fully compensated by the coolness. The sides of the river were so flat, that we could see nothing beyond the groves of cocoa-nut-trees and mangoes, which bordered it on each side. The breaks from villas were but few: occasionally, huts and pagodas added a variety to the scene, which was certainly fine from the great breadth of the river, here expanding into long reaches, instead of the frequent windings we had observed below Calcutta. My servant with the palanquins and bearers soon joined us in a similar boat. We passed Barrackpore without calling, as Lord Wellesley had returned to Calcutta early in the morning.

Serampore, the Danish settlement on the opposite bank, has a pleasing effect, as the houses are tolerable, and chunamed, like those of Calcutta. It extends for about two miles along the bank, and is perfectly surrounded by our territories. It has no fortifications, and only a small battery, for saluting. On the dispute with the Northern Powers, we sent a party of seapoys to take possession, which was of course done without the least resistance. The officer employed, requesting some of the Danish governor's people might accompany his men, when they proceeded to some small place in the interior, lest there should be any resistance, was in reply assured, that even sending his men was unnecessary, as a hircarrah * would answer every purpose. Its breadth is very trifling; yet small as is the territory, it is a settlement of considerable value to the mother country. When the East India Company took to themselves the opium and salt-petre trade, to prevent any competition in the market, they agreed to allow a certain quantity annually to the French, Danes, and Dutch, at a specific price, on condition that

* A foot messenger.

they should not purchase any from the natives. The Danes this year resold their opium for a profit of upwards of 20,000*l.* without ever removing it from Calcutta, which alone would more than defray their expenses. They have also from this place the facility of exporting, for their own consumption, every produce of India, duty free. Ships cannot, indeed, come up close to the town, from the increase of a shoal about three miles lower down ; but labour is so cheap, that the additional expense of conveying the goods to a boat is of very little consequence. The French settlement of Chandernagore, and the Dutch one of Chinsura, are more extensive than the Danish ; but from the larger establishments kept up, were never equally advantageous, and have ever cost more than they produced. The treaties by which they could claim a share of the opium and salt-petre were not renewed on the late peace ; consequently that advantage is done away. We are, by conquest, masters of the whole country, and have a right to prohibit our subjects from trading with them. The surrender, therefore, of these settlements to France and Holland, seems a very useless gift ; and in that light it appears to be considered by them, for hitherto they have not taken possession of either, nor has a single French or Dutchman arrived at the place, although several months have elapsed since the right was restored to them by the treaty.

At a short distance from Chinsura we left our boats, as the tide had made against us ; and with only two dandys, moving against it was impracticable. Here we expected to have met the carriage of Mr. Brook ; but this was doomed to be a day of disappointments ; no conveyance was there, we were four miles from Hoogly, and the sun was still very hot. It was at length determined that I should

proceed with all expedition in my palanquin, and send a conveyance for them, Messrs. Graham and Salt alternately occupying the one intended for the latter. In little more than an hour I arrived at Mr. Brook's, who had not sent his carriage, for the best of all possible reasons, because it was broken. He was much concerned for the situation of my fellow-travellers, and a gig was with all expedition sent to meet them. He now kindly prepared a dinner for us, as we could not wait for his, and by the time it was ready, Messrs. Graham and Salt reached us. Of Hoogly I saw nothing, as it was nearly dark when I arrived, and quite so when I departed. The situation of Mr. Brook's house is very pleasantly situated on a bend of the river, whence is commanded a very beautiful prospect. I had here to take my leave of an excellent friend, Mr. Graham, from whom, during my stay, I had received every mark of hospitality and friendship, and who had arranged every thing for my comfort during the long journey which I was now about to undertake. There were two roads by which I might have proceeded for Benares. One new, carried over the mountainous and wild part of Bahar, but two hundred miles nearer than the old, through the populous cities of Bengal. If I had taken the former, I must have proceeded day and night, halting only three times; on the latter road, I had nearly every twenty-four hours a place, where I could rest during the heat of the day, and I should be able to see many of the most celebrated cities of the East. The old road was therefore preferred, as health was infinitely more important, than either time or expense, and it was hitherto impossible for me to judge, how I should bear the Eastern mode of travelling. Bearers for our palanquins had been ordered at the different towns, to be placed at stages about ten miles from

each other, so that we had every reason to hope we should proceed without difficulty from one residence to another, intending to travel always during the night and halt in the day, as the scenery in Bengal is uninteresting from the uniform flatness of the country. For each palanquin were required eight bearers, which formed a complete change; we had also three mussal or link boys, and three men to carry our luggage. A palanquin is too well known to need particular description. Ours were fitted up with venetian blinds, and pillows for sleeping, and were long enough to allow of our lying in them at full length. Not one of the party could speak a word of the language: I think, therefore, we were bold at least in venturing to set forward on a journey of 800 miles without an interpreter. At half after seven in the evening, having taken leave of our friends, we partly undressed ourselves, and well wrapped up in bedgowns went to bed in our palanquins, and proceeded on our journey. The motion, though incessant, was by no means violent. I soon composed myself to rest, but was awakened by my bearers at the first changing-place asking for buxys, or presents: I gave them, as is now pretty customary, a rupee for each palanquin; and finding myself cold, though every window was shut, added a shawl to my covering. I was soon so perfectly reconciled to my lodging, that nothing but the application for buxys awakened me.

February 22.—At early morning I found myself on the banks of the Cossimbuzar river, about eight miles from its junction with the Jellinghy. It was here but a very trifling stream, though the great height of the banks showed how different must be its state in the rainy season. I quitted my palanquin and walked for a short distance to refresh myself with the morning air, which was plea-

santly cool, and even chill. At Ahgadeep, where we had to change our bearers, I found a tent and refreshment, which had been sent forward by the Nawaub of Bengal from Moorshedabad: as, however, I was impatient to arrive at Mr. Parlby's at Burhampore by dinner time, I would not wait, but taking some fruit into my palanquin, breakfasted as we proceeded. The country I now passed through convinced me that I had lost little by the darkness of the night: it was perfectly flat; some part covered with European grain nearly ripe, and the rest a barren waste where paddy* had been cultivated. Mango topes † were in great abundance; yet though the perfume from their blossoms scented the air around, the formality of the square in which they were uniformly planted, prevented them from adding to the beauty of the scene. It is however a magnificent tree, in habit much resembling the Spanish chesnut, and fully equal in size to any specimen I ever saw of that tree: occasionally a Bombax ceiba, now covered with its large scarlet blossoms, struck us by its singularity: no forest tree of Europe produces such a mass of vegetable splendor. My next changing-place was at the magnificent tope of Plassey, a place celebrated in history for the victory obtained by Lord Clive, with three thousand men, of whom nine hundred only were Europeans, over Surajah Dowlah's army nearly 70,000 strong. From that period we may be considered as masters of Bengal, and to that victory we in fact owe the vast empire we now possess. By what right we concluded a treaty with a traitor to depose his sovereign, and actually effected our purpose, is not now to be determined: and those who might have felt repugnance at executing such a business, will still rejoice at the prosperity

* Rice in the husk is so called. † Regularly planted groves.

which it acquired and secured to their country. But not only to England has it been fortunate: the original inhabitants, the Hindoos, oppressed by the extortion, and massacred by the ambitious wars of their Mahometan conquerors, have equal reason to rejoice. For now nearly half a century, they have enjoyed a security in their properties and persons unknown in any other part of Asia; and, what is almost as great a blessing, the horrors of war have been far removed from their peaceable abodes.

The heat in the middle of the day was unpleasant, and my bearers suffered from it. They not only went slowly, but fell several times. The legs of my servant's palanquin were completely broken, and mine were damaged. I had however no power of chiding, and consequently bridled my anger, though I saw with vexation the sun declining without having made much way. As darkness came on, I gave myself up to sleep, and it was absolutely midnight before I arrived at Captain Parlby's house at Burhampore, although only thirty-six miles from the river, which I had passed at six in the morning.

The British who, from official or commercial concerns, are attached to the great cities of India, have generally fixed on a spot at a little distance, where they have constructed modern residences, free from the stench and confinement of Asiatic narrow streets. Burhampore is one of the six great military stations in these provinces. The cantonments are a fine range of buildings, on one side of a large open lawn, around which are situated the houses of different Europeans. It is distant five miles from Moorshedabad, usually called "the City." It is the residence of the present Nawaub of Bengal, Naussir ool Moolk, and also of the celebrated Munny Begum,

widow of Jaffier Ali Khan, so well known in Europe by the rhetoric of Mr. Burke. She is excessively rich, and still retains her intellects in full vigour, though, beyond all doubt, of a very considerable age. A history of her life would include all the most important transactions of Bengal, and almost all the vicissitudes that can happen to an individual, even in Asia. She has seen her husband raised to the musnud* by the assistance of the British, afterwards deposed by them, and obliged to seek refuge in Calcutta; again restored, and dying in possession of the country: her son reduced to be a pensioner on the same Power, which seized the empire for itself. She, however, has still the rank and property of a princess; and by the strength of her mind, and her influence in Calcutta, preserves the absolute controul over her whole family. The allowance to them would be amply sufficient for their maintenance with a proper degree of dignity, were it not for the prodigious increase of their numbers, and the improvidence that seems to be inherent in the Mahomedan character. If they continue to increase, as they have done, several branches must be reduced to absolute poverty, unless a succession of Begums should save them. I really consider these old ladies as very useful appendages to a family; they operate as a kind of sinking fund; for, always having considerable allowances either by jaghire or pension, which it is impossible for them to spend, they save very large sums, which at their deaths go to maintain the younger branches, or to pay the debts of the family.

It was my intention to have paid a visit to the old lady, in order to hear her voice, (which, I understand, is uncommonly shrill, and which she sometimes raises to its highest key) and accordingly

* Mussulman throne.

wrote to Mr. Becher, who, during the absence of Mr. Pattel, was his representative at the durbar,* requesting that he would make arrangements to enable me to pay my respects to her, and the Nawaub, on the morning of the 24th. To this we received for answer, that the Nawaub was out of town, and consequently that it was, at so short a notice, impracticable. My whole arrangements had been made for quitting Burhampore on the evening of that day; not only had the dawk been laid, but gentlemen resident at the different places had received notice of the day I should arrive; consequently, I felt it impossible to put off my departure, in order to visit the Nawaub on a future day; I therefore determined to make my excuses to his Highness, and to pay my respects on my return. This I requested, by letter, Mr. Becher would do. In the middle of the night we were surprised by a message from this gentleman, informing us that he had been completely mistaken, for that his Highness was in town, and expected the pleasure of my company the next morning. However surprised, I would willingly have gone, had it been in my power; but we had no carriage, and it was too late to procure bearers. I was therefore necessitated to keep to my former purpose, and requested him to make my apologies. By some strange neglect this was not communicated to the Nawaub till so late, that he sent off twice, to know whether I did not mean to come. Mr. Parlby fully explained the case, and that the fault was not mine. In the evening I received presents of fruit from the Begum and Nawaub. A large party of the officers and gentlemen of the vicinity had been invited by Captain Parlby to meet me this day (24th), amongst whom I had the pleasure of seeing three sons of

* Durbar is the place where the sovereign actually is, and answers to the English word, court.

my friend Colonel Patton. During dinner we had a chorus of jackals around the house. This, and the fox, are the only wild animals left in the island of Cossimbuzar: formerly it was very full of tigers and leopards, but the increase of population, and the rewards paid by the Company, have here completely exterminated them, and much thinned them in other parts. Ten rupees are paid for the head of a full grown tiger, and five for a leopard, or tiger's cub. The premiums have already amounted to upwards of a lack and a half of rupees, and must be considered as money extremely well employed.

At half past ten at night, attended by my servant, I proceeded on my journey. We found it difficult to procure bearers sufficient for the three palanquins; Mr. Salt was therefore left to follow the next day, by taking up one set which remained on the road for that purpose. The bearers were so good, that I fell asleep before my arrival at Moorshedabad; I therefore passed it completely unseen. I felt the less regret, as it is tolerable only by the side of the river, and indeed no where of any great beauty. The Government was removed thither from Dacca by Jaffier Khan only in 1757, when he chose to watch the English; and since that time the Nawaubs have never had sufficient tranquil prosperity to embellish their residence. I awoke with the earliest dawn, and examined the country as I proceeded. My road lay still in the Cossimbuzar island, which is perfectly flat, and one bed of sand. The annual overflow of the river leaves a deposit of mud, which, like that of the Nile, gives richness to this otherwise barren territory. I observed very excellent crops of wheat and barley, and occasionally plantations of Indigo. The paddy fields were now bare, and gave a very dis-

agreeable effect to the scene. The mango topes and palm trees were observed as usual, but the cocoa-nut was scarce, and seemed to bear but little fruit. The villages were composed of miserable mud cottages, but they rapidly succeeded each other, and the number of inhabitants gave me a high idea of the general population of the country.

February 25.—At half past eight in the morning I arrived at Mr. Atkinson's, at Jungepore, where I found breakfast prepared for me. I dressed, after a thorough ablution, and joined my host, who seemed heartily glad to see me. He is a pleasing intelligent man, but has some appearance of rustication, having for many years resided on this spot, which, as he informs me, is completely solitary, having no neighbour nearer than Moorshedabad. The only people, therefore, whom he has seen since his residence, have been travellers by dawk, and on the river, during the time it is passable. He never heard of more than one tiger on the island, and now and then a leopard. The buffaloes are quite destroyed; a few antelopes, hog-deer, and spotted deer remain. The birds he represents as various and beautiful. This place is the greatest station for silk in possession of the India Company, although, nominally, Cossimbuzar takes the lead: the others are Maldah, Bauleah, Commercolly, Radnagore, and Rungpore. The first attempt at establishing a silk manufactory was at Budge-budge, which did not succeed. The buildings here were erected in the year 1773. They employ about three thousand people: six hundred furnaces have each a man, who spins the silk from the coccoon, and a boy who turns the wheel; the latter in time succeeds the former as vacancies occur. The wages are, for spinners, four rupees and a half per month, and three rupees for

the boys. The superintendants have five rupees, and get a few anas out of the wages of the workmen under them. The rest of the three thousand are wood-cutters, watermen, &c. whose wages vary. They use the Italian method of spinning, which was introduced about forty years ago, by some natives of that country sent over by the Company for that purpose. The silk is twisted, which was not the case in the native manufactures. The untwisted is worth less than the Italian, by two rupees a seer.* The India Company manufacture none of this, but purchase a considerable quantity to send home. It is used for articles where silk is mixed with cotton, with which it blends better from its flatness. They have three kinds of silk-worm in the country; first, the annual, which came from Tippera, is by far the largest and best, but gives only one crop; second, the one commonly reared, which is supposed to be indigenous, and is called the Dacey: this produces eight harvests; third, and worst, the China or Madrassy, which also yields eight times a year. These kinds are bred by the women and children. The worms are private property, and the coccoons are purchased by the India Company. The mulberry tree is the oriental, dwarfish, and the leaves but indifferent, to which is attributed a degeneracy in the breeds that have been introduced from foreign countries. The China mulberry has been tried, but it did not succeed from the dryness of the soil. Three different kinds of silk are prepared: the first, is made from the annual coccoon; the second, from the Dacey and Madrassy, and consists of from twelve to fourteen threads; the third, also from the Dacey and Madrassy, and consists of sixteen, eighteen, twenty, and as many as twenty-four threads. The quantity sent

* About two pounds.

home has lately, from the embarrassments of the Company, been but small; it might be increased to any amount. The last investment of spun silk stood the Company in ten rupees four anas, per seer, commission and every thing included: there are numerous other stations where the natives cultivate the silk-worm, and even have adopted the Italian method of spinning; the Company purchase none of this silk. During the heat of the day I walked over the whole of the manufactory: it is a very large edifice, built in the shape of a gallows. On the ground floor are the coppers where the coccoons are steeped to loosen the silk, and where it is wound off; above are warehouses. The people looked healthy, and I understand it is by no means a deleterious employment, and certainly in many respects is advantageous, as very young children can be employed, and the eight crops of the common coccoon enable them to earn sufficient to maintain them the whole year.

At six in the evening I again proceeded on my journey, wishing to cross the river before it should become dark. In this I succeeded, although my bearers were remarkably bad, and threw me down no less than three times. After I went to rest they were better, and I slept well.

February 26.—Early in the morning when I awoke, Rajamahal was in sight, situated on the bank of the Ganges, which I here beheld for the first time; though at its lowest ebb, it was still a noble river. The town is on the elevated bank, and now consists of only a street of mud cottages. Previously to 1638 it was the residence of Sultan Suja, who governed the province of Bengal; but a terrible fire burnt the palace to the ground; and the river in the same year carried away nearly the whole of the town. No vestiges, even, of its

ancient magnificence remain. The country was here more pleasing than usual. On the right was the noble Ganges; on the left some moderate hills covered with jungles, over which the Borassus flabelliformis and the Phœnix dactylifera raised their heads proudly pre-eminent, and the Bombax ceiba and Butea frondosa protruded their scarlet bloom, without a leaf to conceal it. In front were the mountains, to me a most engaging sight, after the level horizon which had for so many months wearied my eyes. For four hours I travelled over the plain, between the hills and the river. It was almost entirely covered with wheat and barley, excepting where the mango topes, planted in regular squares, perfumed the air with their bloom, and afforded a shade to the people tending their fields. About twelve I arrived at Siceligully, having for the last hour travelled through a complete jungle, where the Butea frondosa predominated. This is one of the villages formed in the wilds by the wisdom of government, in granting lands to the sepoy invalids, on condition of their residence and cultivation. Fortunately for me, Captain Wilton was there at the time, being on his tour to visit the different stations; he received me politely at a bungelow erected on an eminence close to the river. The spot is most beautiful: the river here making a rapid turn to the S.E. after having for three hundred miles been obliged to run nearly east, gives an extensive view both upwards and downwards. The bank is well wooded, and the blue mountains at a distance serve to complete the landscape: a small hill is close to the habitation, and on the summit are the ruins of a Mahomedan burying-place. From this point Mr. Salt has taken one of his larger views.

This was the last halt I was to make in the province of Bengal:

a few miles further the province of Bahar commences. The roads hitherto have been very indifferent; in many places not sufficiently wide to let my palanquin pass without difficulty, and in most parts the inequality of surface was such as to render the motion unpleasant, and to cause a considerable delay. This in a great degree is owing to the force of the torrents during the rains, which tear up all the bridges, and carry devastation through the whole country: a large allowance is made to the zemindar, for the re-erection of the bridges (made of wood covered with reeds), and the repair of the roads; but as no one is appointed to see that these are properly executed, or indeed executed at all, he generally pockets the money, and most of the highways remain impassable. During the full power of the house of Timour, they made magnificent causeways from one end of their dominions to the other, and planted trees on the sides to shelter travellers from the sun; a most useful plan, in a country where men are the chief instruments of conveyance. Surely we ought to follow so good an example now that we are in tranquil possession of the same empire. But alas! its sovereigns are too apt to confine their views to a large investment, and an increase of dividend, and have usually opposed every plan for the improvement of the country, which has been brought forward by the different Governors General. Bungelows for the accommodation of travellers have been erected at proper distances, but as they are constructed only of mud and thatch, the neglect of two or three years would totally ruin them. I have the satisfaction of knowing that an order has been recently obtained for their repair and preservation.

The bearers were in general very bad, a circumstance which I

much regretted this last stage, as it delayed me so long as to prevent my visiting a very fine cascade in the neighbourhood of Siceligully. At six in the evening I again departed, and about eleven arrived at the celebrated pass in the mountains of Terriagully. As I walked up the hill by a narrow winding road, I passed the ruined gateway and fort, and for the first time regretted that the heat of the weather precluded my travelling in the day. The sides of the road were covered with jungle. I understood that tigers were not uncommon, and that sometimes, though rarely, a wild elephant passed the river, and committed his ravages in the vicinity. However I met with neither, and soon retired to rest.

February 27.—When I awoke I found the beautiful scenery of the night had given place to the usual plain, covered with European grain and mango topes. The hills however were visible at a distance. I found by the mile stones that I was eighteen miles from Bhaughulpore; these are however not always to be depended on, from the alteration of the road, occasionally rendered necessary by the deep gullies worn by the torrents in the old one. I here beheld hundreds of nests of the Loxia, or Indian Baga, so well described in the second volume of the Asiatic Researches, which had built their secure abodes on a tamarind tree overhanging a tank, and kept up an incessant chirping. About four miles farther I first met with the convicts working on the public road. It was here formed on a very noble scale, nearly forty feet wide, elevated considerably when necessary to preserve a perfect level, and to prevent its being overflowed during the rains. Very good stone arches were erected at proper distances to enable the torrent to pass. It ran in a straight line, and put me much in mind of the works of the Romans. I hope

they will plant trees on each side; vegetation is here so rapid that they will soon form a delightful shade. It is a most excellent way of employing the convicts; and as they are permitted to have their families with them during the day, cannot be considered as oppressive. At night the women and children live in huts built near the prisons.

At Goganullah, one stage from Bhaugulpore, I was met by Major Shaw's hircarrah, with an invitation to his house. I had been recommended to him by Mr. Graham. The country was rather undulated the rest of the way, and the multitude of mosques as I approached the town had a pleasing effect, which was much increased by the pensile foliage of the tamarind tree, planted constantly close to them, and the lofty palms that overtop them. I passed several singular buildings of Major Hutchinson, who had the first arrangement of the invalid villages, and who at every place erected an habitation of unknown orders of architecture, and which cannot be admired either for beauty or convenience. We are, however, indebted to him for the bungelows before mentioned; peace, therefore, to his ashes! About a mile from the town I passed a monument, resembling a pagoda, erected to the memory of Mr. Cleveland, by the Aumlah and Zemindars of the Jungleterry of Rajahmahal, who, before his time were a race of savages, and whom, by conciliatory means alone, he induced to place themselves under the protection of the British Government. I arrived at Major Shaw's about ten o'clock. The day was not hot, we were therefore induced early in the evening to take a drive round the environs. The seat of the Resident is very pleasantly situated on a mount, partly artificial, commanding a view of most park-like grounds, and the blue

mountains at a distance. In the front is a monument of marble, erected by order of the Governor-General and Council to the memory of the same Mr. Cleveland. Indeed his memory ought to be preserved; I shall therefore transcribe the inscription:

To the Memory of Augustus Cleveland, Esq.
Late Collector of the Districts of Bhaugulpore and Rajamahall,
Who, without bloodshed or the terror of authority,
Employing only the means of conciliation, confidence, and benevolence,
Attempted and accomplished,
The entire subjection of the lawless and savage inhabitants of the Jungleterry of Rajamahall,
Who had long infested the neighbouring lands by their predatory Incursions,
Inspired them with a taste for the arts of civilized life,
And attached them to the British Government, by a conquest over their minds;
The most permanent as the most rational of dominion.
The Governor-General and Council of Bengal,
In honour of his Character, and for an Example to others,
Have ordered this Monument to be erected.
He departed this life on the 13th day of January, 1784, aged 29.

Major Shaw commands the corps of the Hill natives, now in our service; it amounts at present to about three hundred, and he speaks of their conduct with the highest approbation. Of their singular manners and religious opinions, he has given a most ex-

cellent account in the fourth volume of the Asiatic Researches. Hodges has drawn the banyan tree at the entrance of the town, which is indeed a noble one; but he has introduced water into his view, which in nature does not exist. I am sorry to observe that I more and more perceive, that no dependence is to be placed on his accuracy. A very considerable majority of the inhabitants are Mahomedans, and a college of that religion still exists. It is in great decay, from the mismanagement of its funds. I was much pleased with the sight of two very singular round towers about a mile N. W. of the town. They much resemble those buildings in Ireland, which have hitherto puzzled the antiquaries of the sister kingdoms, excepting that they are more ornamented. It is singular that there is no tradition concerning them, nor are they held in any respect by the Hindoos of this country. The Rajah of Jyenagur considers them as holy, and has erected a small building to shelter the great number of his subjects, who annually come to worship here. I have given an engraving of them, as I think them curious. The vegetable productions are here the same as I have observed the whole way from Calcutta. I never yet travelled so far, (about two hundred miles,) without finding a very great change in this respect; yet hitherto, even the herbaceous plants that grow wild have been the same, chiefly Asclepias grandiflora and Solanum ferox. The Bixa orellana is in great abundance in the plantations of the different gentlemen. The Chinese fruits, Loquot and Lochi, were in great luxuriance, but not ripe. After dinner I departed, though not till nine o'clock, as the distance to Monghyr was only thirty-five miles. Major Shaw reproved my bearers, in consequence of which I proceeded better. At Madura I found that, owing to some mistake,

there were none placed as a relay. The old ones very good humouredly undertook to carry me on, which they did extremely well, though twenty miles, with my weight, and a loaded palanquin, was no trifle. The race of men has visibly improved since I left Bengal; they are taller and stouter, but have still the fault of ill made knees, and little or no calf to their legs. This is probably owing to their method of crouching, begun when infants, while the limbs are pliable. At Sophiabad there were only eight bearers for the two palanquins; but being only two miles and a half from Monghyr, they contrived to take me on, and I arrived by seven in the morning at the house of Captain D'Auvergne, where I experienced a very hospitable reception.

February 28.—Monghyr is a large fort surrounded by a wall and deep ditch, and is a place of very considerable antiquity. A grant of land dated from this place was found in clearing a well, and is described in the first volume of the Asiatic Researches. The year in which it was executed is not clearly ascertained, but by all it is admitted to be nearly coeval with the Christian æra. It is most beautifully situated on a bend of the Ganges, which, in the rainy season, forms here a prodigious sea of fresh water, bounded by the Carrackpore mountains. It was the chief residence of Sultan Suja, during his government of the province of Bengal. At the time that he, as well as his brothers Aurungzebe and Morad Buksh, were in rebellion against their father Shaw Jehan, he fortified it as well as he could. It however soon fell into the hands of his enemies, and he was driven into Aracan, there to experience a series of misfortunes, which the history of other branches of his own family alone can equal. It was afterwards the residence of Cossim Ali

Khan, when he thought of throwing off all dependence on the English. He added considerably to the strength of the fortifications, and endeavoured to discipline the natives to defend it. In this he failed; and it was taken by the British, after a siege of nine days, in the year 1763. Since that period, it has remained in our possession, and as a frontier town is become a place of considerable importance, and a depot of arms and ammunition. It is too extensive in its present state (being above two miles round) for defence, as an army sufficient to garrison it would always be able to keep the field. Lord Cornwallis built here some very excellent storehouses, and had planned to fortify the rising ground, on which the old palace stands, and level the rest. The hill, on which the Governor's house is situated, would have given some trouble to the workmen, as it is a solid rock; but it commands the other position, and must therefore have been reduced. It was too small in circumference to be chosen itself for a fort. The obtaining of the ceded provinces from the Nawaub of Oude has made it of little importance, and Alahabad is now chosen in its stead as a frontier depot.

The protruding point of the rock, which braves the whole force of the river, is considered as a sacred bathing place by the Hindoos. At the full of the moon of the months Cartic and Maug, they proceed on a pilgrimage to the hot well of Sitacoon, so named from Setah, the favourite wife of Ram, and having there performed their ablutions, they visit the rock of Monghyr, and purify themselves in the Ganges. The crowds at these seasons are prodigious; probably the intention of collecting tribute from the pilgrims first gave rise to the fort. There is a tolerably handsome Hindoo temple, directly above the bathing place. It had five arched entrances, facing each of

which were richly carved niches, meant to contain idols. Sultan Suja removed them, and converted the building into a mosque. It is now the residence of some invalid soldiers. The walls at present contain lines for five companies of sepoy invalids, a house belonging to the Governor-General, but in which he permits the Commandant of the garrison to reside, several houses belonging to the officers quartered there, a village, and the ruins of the palace of Sultan Suja. The rest of the space is occupied by gardens, tanks, and plantations. When you have once passed the gateways, there is nothing to inform you that you are in a fort. A major-general has hitherto commanded the garrison, but it is now given to Colonel Palmer, who had not arrived there when I left it. The view from his habitation is uncommonly fine, taking in the river, mountains, and intermediate plains richly cultivated. I prefer it to any thing I have yet seen in India. The house, of which Mr. Salt has taken a drawing, is excellent.

The remains of the palace are considerable, and would have been much more so, had not every one, who wanted materials for new habitations, plundered the bricks and wood without mercy. Even Government itself set the example, when they built the storehouses and modern palace. A person of taste would have restored the old one, which could then have been done at a much less expense, would have been more convenient, and, in my opinion, more pleasingly situated, although without so extensive a view. The largest range of buildings is on the edge of the rampart, and overhangs the river. On the right is the sacred point of the rock, on which grow three of the finest tamarind trees I ever beheld. A small mosque is at present the most beautiful edifice remaining. It is built of the black

stone of the country, which takes a high polish, with white marble tablets, in which are inlaid verses from the Koran in black stone. The inside is built of the same materials, several feet from the ground: the floor is mosaic, in square compartments. The baths are also in tolerable preservation, as is the Devan Khanah, or hall of audience. The different courts are still inclosed, and the whole of the Zenana may be traced in the ruins, not made by time, but by the hand of man. The whole appears to have been of tolerable architecture, and, considering the beauty of the situation, was altogether worthy of being the residence of a sovereign prince. Near to the palace is a very large well, to which you descend by a long and wide flight of steps: it is never dry, and is supposed to have a subterranean communication with the river. This is called the singing well; and the natives firmly believe, that every seven years is heard, at the bottom, the noise of singing and music, such as was produced by the nautch girls* in the neighbouring Zenana. They say that when Sultan Suja was obliged to fly to Rajamahal, he put to death all his women whom he could not take with him, by immuring some in the walls of the well, and by throwing the others into it. I enquired why these unfortunate females limited their rejoicing to once in seven years; but could obtain no satisfactory answer; nor can I hope that even the profound researches of the Asiatic Society will be able to discover the cause. Hodges has published a view of the gateway, which has no resemblance to it, neither was it worth drawing; for though the walls, and consequently the gateway, are very lofty, yet the architecture has

* The dancing and singing girls of India, of which every man of high rank has a private set. There are others who exhibit for pay at any house.

nothing singularly beautiful. I dined with Mrs. Ellerker, widow of the late Major-General who commanded here, and afterwards proceeded on my journey, being well provided with food from the hospitality of my hostess.

March 1.—After a very comfortable night's rest, I arose at six in the morning. At Pananea I met Mr. Robert Graham's hircarrah with cold provisions. He proceeded with me till six o'clock, when we dined. The day was tolerably pleasant, owing to a north-wester,* which had cooled the air. My bearers took shelter under a tree. I requested them to leave me at a small distance, as I had no wish to be struck by the lightning. The country through the whole day was singularly unsightly. The villages were numerous; the Ganges, with its sandy islands, and its opposite shore, hardly visible, was close at our right. I went early to sleep, and at five in the morning found myself at Mr. Robert Graham's at Bankepore, six miles beyond Patna.

March 2.—Bankepore is the English residence belonging to Patna, and the seat of the manufactory. It is situated on the high bank of the Ganges, which is here five miles wide in the rainy season, but at present the major part of its bed is a sand island, on which Clive encamped, when he attended Meer Cossim to Patna. The view is sufficiently dreary. I drove out to view one of the depots, erected by the Company to contain rice. It was intended to build a sufficient number to preclude all danger of famine. It is a building of stone in the shape of a bee-hive, with two winding staircases on the outside, by which the ascent is made to pour in the grain from the top. At the bottom is a door to take it out. Although twenty,

* A gale of wind accompanied by violent thunder, lightning, and rain: it is so called in India, because it always comes from that point of the compass.

one feet thick at the bottom, the walls are already giving way; a circumstance of very little consequence, as, when filled, it does not contain a sufficiency for one day's consumption of the neighbouring province. It cost 1,20,000 rupees; money completely thrown away, as it has never been used, and now never can be. This is by no means a rice country, although what is produced is excellent: the farther you go north in Hindostan proper, the better is the country. The chief produce is opium, which is now become a most important article, not only on account of the profit which the monopoly brings to the East India Company, but also from the great demand for this intoxicating drug in China. The importation is not permitted by the Chinese Government; but the attachment of the people to it is so great, that they are obliged to connive at its being smuggled into the country. The demand is increasing, which is fortunate, as hitherto the Chinese have considered the British trade, which only brought them bullion, an article they did not want, as of less importance than the Russian, which gave them in exchange for their tea, furs, which they required for convenience as well as luxury. They are now dependent on India for what is becoming a necessary article. The non-importation would probably excite a rebellion. Hence also is procured a great quantity of saltpetre, and a considerable proportion of the cottons sent to England to be there printed. The country is perfectly flat, and the drives uninteresting.

March 3.—Rai Ram Sing, Vakeel from the Jeypore Rajah to Calcutta, and who was only here by permission on account of his health, paid me a visit, and tendered a nazar* of rupees, which I touched, but declined.

* An offering, without which an inferior never approaches a superior in India.

March 4.—At four in the morning Mr. Salt arrived. He had met with nothing particular, but had staid two days at Monghyr to take views. He had every where been most hospitably received. I went with Mr. Graham to view the town of Patna. It is one continued street the whole way, and the population appears to be very great. The houses in general are of mud, and there are few remains that indicate the capital of Bahar. In a gateway I observed some very black stone most beautifully carved, which had probably been taken from some ancient pagoda. There are the remains of a fort, and of the British factory where the massacre of two hundred prisoners was perpetrated by the adventurer Summers, called by the natives Soomeroo, then in the service of Meer Cossim, who thus revenged himself for the capture of Monghyr. A monument, but without an inscription, is erected to their memory in the European burying ground. The city was taken by Major Adams in 1763, and has since remained in our possession. It is generally admitted to be the celebrated ancient city of Palibothra. The whole society of Bankepore, amounting to eight or nine families, this day dined with us.

March 5.—As a sufficient number of bearers were not to be procured, Mr. Salt was obliged to remain behind. After an early dinner, attended by my servant, I again set off on my journey. I passed several Mahomedan burying-grounds, which with their accompanying trees had a pleasing effect. I next crossed the three squares of the Dynapore cantonments: those for the privates seem excellent. The officers' apartments are now private property, having been sold by the Company. The third square seems never to have been finished, and is falling rapidly to decay. At ten o'clock I passed the Soane. It is still a very considerable river, and celebrated for

the picturesque scenes on its banks, and its pebbles, which consist of a variety of agates, onyxes, and imperfect cornelians.

March 6.—Morning overtook me on a flat but highly cultivated country. In addition to the usual produce, I observed the Gossypium, or cotton plant, and the Ricinus communis, whose berry yields the castor oil, of which, singular as it may appear, till lately the India Company were so uninformed, as to send that medicine from Europe. The former is small and stunted; the latter grows in the greatest possible luxuriance. The wheat harvest was now commenced, and the whole population of the villages was poured out into the fields. The men and boys were reaping, and the women and children were, as in Europe, leasing after them. The sickle nearly resembles the English; the grain is not bound into sheaves, but laid flat, and immediately piled. I now arrived at the nullah,* where the celebrated battle was fought, October 1764, between the British, and the united forces of Suja ul Dowlah and Cossim Ali Khan, which ended in the complete defeat of the latter, although they had 50,000 men, and a large train of artillery, and the British but 7000 men, of whom only 1200 were Europeans. Their flight was so rapid, that they did not stop at Buxar, but hastened to a nullah beyond, which, being then very full, thousands were drowned in attempting to pass it. This glorious victory not only secured the quiet possession of Bengal and Bahar, but gave us the first connection with Oude, which now forms so valuable a part of our possessions. The plunder was very great, as they left their tents standing; and a hundred and thirty pieces of cannon were taken.

* A river; many of these, which in the rainy season run into the Ganges, are at other times perfectly dry.

The roads are better on the whole than I found them in Bengal; a carriage could be driven along them without any difficulty. I took my breakfast of cold tea under a lofty banian tree, and arrived at Buxar about twelve o'clock. I immediately proceeded to the fort, which is a short distance beyond the town, where I was politely received by Colonel Stafford. The fort, though of a very inconsiderable size, commands the Ganges. It was originally only mud; but on being taken possession of by the English, stone bastions were ingeniously added, without a proper foundation. Their weight has consequently brought them down to the bottom of the ditch. The guns are all removed, and its only use, as a fort, is to give a good salary to a Commandant. I confess I have very strong doubts of the policy of destroying these smaller places of defence, which might be kept in order at a very trifling expense, and would also serve as depots for ammunition. There is not at present a single fortified place between Calcutta and Alahabad, a distance of eight hundred miles.

Every vessel passing up or down the Ganges is obliged to come to at this place, and produce her pass; every traveller by land does the same. The police in these respects is very strict, and any irregularity would probably send back the unfortunate passenger to the place whence he came. It is highly expedient that Government should watch the motions of many even of its own servants, in a country where our dominion is so extensive, and our actual numbers and power so very disproportioned. No one can visit the upper provinces without an express permission. I had not a regular pass, but my journey had been notified to the commanding officer of every station. Letters from General Deare were waiting

my arrival, inviting me to his house at Secrole (the English Benares.) Colonel and Mrs. Pringle, who were proceeding by water to Calcutta, dined with us. I afterwards set off for Benares, said to be sixty-three miles.

March 7.—The bearers were bad, so that by morning I had made but little progress, nor did I arrive on the banks of the Ganges till four o'clock in the evening; I am therefore convinced it is farther than is supposed. I was highly delighted with the view of this seat of the Hindoo religion, covering the opposite concave bank of the river. The minarets were most conspicuous. I passed to a gaut at the extremity of the town, and without entering the gates, proceeded to Secrole, two miles farther. General Deare was not at home, but a dinner was prepared, and Captain Maxwell, his Brigade-Major, arrived to make his excuses for being obliged to be absent at Chunar on especial business.

March 8.—Major Maxwell came to breakfast, and immediately afterwards Mr. Neave, the senior judge of circuit and appeal, and agent to his Excellency the Governor-General, waited on me to make an arrangement concerning my visits to the princes. He communicated to me the directions he had received, which were most flattering. I found from him, that according to the custom of India, the stranger should pay the first visit. As his Excellency had arranged otherwise at Calcutta, I conceived myself bound to decline complying with it, but expressed my wish to be introduced to the different gentlemen resident here, and I would certainly return their visits. I agreed to die with him, where I met a very large party.

March 9.—General Deare arrived early in the morning, and at

breakfast I had the pleasure of paying my compliments to him, and assuring him that I was lodged greatly to my satisfaction, and had been well taken care of during his absence. I received the visits of all the civil and military servants of the Company, and contrived, in the course of the day, to return a few of them. I had applied to Mr. Neave to procure for me a proper suwarry.* He sent me this morning four chubdars,† and two soontaburdars,‡ with ten hircarrahs§; these were sufficient for the necessary parade on visiting, and receiving the visits of the natives of rank. The day was overcast, and rain had fallen at a little distance, which was to me a very satisfactory circumstance, as it will assist in delaying the arrival of the hot winds. The climate here is greatly different from that of Calcutta. Fires had been used but a few days before I arrived, and the nights are even now rather cold. The first fire-place I met with was at Monghyr. I learned that the badness of my bearers was owing to my travelling at the latter end of the Huli, a festival kept up with great spirit by the native Hindoos and Mahomedans, in celebration of the vernal season. It is singular that one of the amusements is, what is called in England, making April fools; and as the periods of celebration so nearly coincide, for the Huli is always in March, it seems to point out a remarkable connection between the ancient religion of Europe, and that of this Peninsula. They also amuse themselves with throwing pellets of yellow or red powder, with which, on the last day, their dresses are so completely covered, as to have a most ridiculous appearance. To end the festival, they make themselves so completely

* The whole state equipage. † Servants of state carrying long silver sticks.
‡ Servants of state carrying short silver sticks. § Running footmen.

drunk, that business is quite out of the question till a night's rest has rendered them capable of returning to their duty.

March 10.—I took an early breakfast, and immediately afterwards Mr. Neave called to attend me in my visit to the princes, sons of Mirza Jewan Bukht Jehander Shah, and to his widow, Kutluc Sultaun Begum. He was the eldest son of the present king, and the same person who waited on Mr. Hastings when at Lucknow, to request assistance for his father. He failed in this application, but procured a settlement for himself of 25,000 rupees per month. He resided till his death at Benares, and left three sons. The eldest, Shegosta Bukht, is, in direct descent, heir to the throne, and has that title cut on his seal. His mother, however, was not the first wife, being a woman of no consequence. The second, Mirza Khorum, is the son of the Begum, herself of the royal house of Timour, and as such is more respected by the British. It does not seem improbable, that if the English take any part in the disposal of the throne on the death of the present king, they will support the pretensions of this man. It is said that Shah Allum will leave it to a younger son, who resides with him at Delhi, and actually sits beside him on the musnud. The right of inheritance is so indefinite by the Mahomedan law, that it is impossible to say, who has the best claim; nor is it of much consequence, as force will decide. If we do not interfere, the Mahrattas will settle the business.* There is also a third son by a dancing-girl, who is quite

* Since I left India, the old king has closed his days in peace, under the protection of the English, as he ventured to hope he should do, in his beautiful poem on his loss of sight. His favourite son succeeded him. All political inducements for our interference with this arrangement were removed, by the annihilation of Scindiah's and Perron's influence at the court of Delhi.

young, and considered as of very inferior rank. Lord Wellesley, when at Benares, visited the two former, but not the latter; nevertheless, on the boy's waiting on him at his durbar, he was received with a royal salute.

The salaries paid to the royal family were always issued from the treasury of Benares, but previously to the late treaty with his Excellency the Nawaub Vizier of Oude, were regularly charged to his account. On his ceding to us several provinces, we undertook to pay these, as well as several other charges. Since the death of Jewan Bukht, the allowances have been as follows:

To the Kutluc Begum and her son, per month	11,000	rupees.
To the Mirza Shegofta Bukht - -	4,000	ditto.
To the youngest son - - -	2,000	ditto.
	17,000	

We also allow to the Begum three hundred rupees per month, to keep the lamps burning at the tomb of her husband: it does not cost her a quarter of the money. These sums are amply sufficient to maintain them in a country where the necessaries of life are so cheap, not only with comfort, but splendour; yet they are always distressed. The number of their retainers is very great, and old servants of the family are continually making their way to them from Delhi, and are sure to be received and assisted as far as their little means will permit. There is also, as I have before observed, an improvidence in the Mahomedan character, which prevents their keeping within due bounds. A predestinarian thinks little of the morrow, and hopes of future prosperity shut their eyes to the inevitable ruin that awaits them. Many of the first Mussulman families have already disappeared; they become soldiers of fortune

in the armies of the native princes. Our service they dislike, as they cannot rise high in it; and trade is chiefly in the hands of the Hindoos; as is the collection of the revenue, and ever has been; for even on the conquest of Hindostan by Timour, he found the system of finance so complete, that he was necessitated to leave it in statu quo.

But to return to the princes.—On paying a visit to any Asiatic prince, an inferior receives from him a complete dress of honour, consisting of a khelaut, a robe, a turban, a shield, and sword, with a string of jewels to go round the neck. This ceremony was submitted to by Lord Cornwallis when at Benares. When Lord Wellesley visited the upper provinces, he objected to the ceremony as too degrading, and determined to appear in the presence of the royal family in his uniform, receiving the dresses in trays as a present made to him. He had directed Mr. Neave to notify to the princes, that my rank, as a British nobleman, was such as to require the same etiquette in receiving me. Of course, his will and pleasure is a law: and it was arranged accordingly. About nine o'clock, Mr. Neave and I set off for Shewalla, the old palace of Cheyt Sing, at present occupied by the Begum and her son, Mirza Khorum. It is situated in the middle of the town, on the bank of the Ganges, and is the place whence that Zemindar escaped, when put under an arrest by Mr. Hastings. The two suwarrys united made a very handsome show. As I approached the palace, I found the guard drawn out to receive me, compared to whom Falstaff's recruits were gentlemen. It was intended to do me honour, and I felt the compliment. On entering the gate a salute was fired. We here quitted our palanquins, and perceived the prince in the Dewan

Khanah, waiting our approach. It is a small room, elevated a few feet from the ground, open on three sides, and supported by pillars; on the fourth a purdah* was stretched across, behind which was seated his mother. He advanced to the head of the steps, followed by his three sons. He there embraced me three times, and taking hold of my left hand, led me to a small couch close to the purdah, and seated me on his right hand, in fact, between his mother and himself, though she was invisible. I instantly presented to her a nazur of nineteen gold mohurs, in a white handkerchief. I handed them through a hole in the purdah, which being tolerably large, I contrived to get a peep at the old lady, who was little, and rather fair: her hands were very delicate. I should have preferred the view of some of the owners of fine black eyes, that I saw playing at hide and seek through the different holes; but it was impossible. I then delivered to him a nazur of nine gold mohurs, in a similar manner. Mr. Neave made his nazurs of five mohurs to the Begum, and three to her son.

This important part of the ceremony being over, and Mr. Neave being seated on a chair opposite, a conversation began through the medium of his interpretation. The mother enquired after my health and that of Lord Wellesley. My motives for visiting India were next enquired into. I replied, that the wish to see so fine a country, and to pay my respects to his family, who were all highly respected by the British nobility, were my chief motives. Did I mean to visit the royal presence? I replied, most certainly. They then launched forth in praise of Agra and Delhi, and the magnificence of the buildings. The idea of what passed in their minds

* A curtain, usually of cloth, which when let down serves as a door.

at that moment, most painfully struck me. Could they do otherwise than recollect that those palaces were once theirs, and that there they reigned in the plenitude of Eastern power; that now, alas, how great the contrast! the head of the family blinded in his old age by the villainy of a subject, was with difficulty able to procure a moderate subsistence; while they themselves were thankful for the use of the palace of a zemindar, and owed their bread to the benevolence of a nation on which they had no claim. Nothing but the hope of future prospects could brighten such a scene, and they seemed to entertain it. The Begum earnestly addressed me, begging that, whether in Europe or India, I would remember with kindness her son, who was placed beside me. She had made the same request to Lord Wellesley, in a more solemn manner; she put her hand through the purdah, and taking his, placed it on her son's, imploring his protection.

I now gave a hint that I wished to retire, and the dresses, &c. were produced in trays, and laid at my feet. They could not be refused, and consequently I accepted them by raising my hand to my head, and inclining my body: Mr. Neave had some shawls thrown over his shoulders. On our departure, paun* and roses were presented, but we were spared the attar, which is every way detestable. The prince conducted me to the bottom of the steps, andtook his leave in terms nearly similar to his mother's request. I had delivered an additional nazur of two mohurs to each. Mr. Neave had done the same. I omitted to mention one circumstance of Oriental

* Paun is the areca-nut wrapt up in the leaf of a species of pepper, with a little fine lime; this is frequently chewed by the natives, and is invariably presented by them to all visitors.

etiquette: on paying my repects my titles were not announced by a servant, from an Asiatic courtesy, which supposed me of so high a rank, that I must be known to the princes. In all other cases this is done: it was so to Mr. Neave. Mirza Khorum is in person rather short and fat; his features strongly expressive of good nature, though his black beard, rendered straggling by the effects of the small pox, gives a fierceness to his countenance, which nature by no means intended. His eldest son is a fine boy, but with a melancholy cast of features; the second, a laughing English-looking lad. He informed me that he had, in all, seven. I was again saluted on my departure. I never experienced more pain than during this visit: every thing strongly marked poverty; the purdahs were of red and green cloth, but in tatters; he himself was in a dress of gold brocade, but without jewels; and his children were clad still more simply. I had, however, one consolation, in the idea that this declension of the house of Timour was not owing to the British.

Our next visit was to the eldest son, Mirza Shegofta Bukht, who resides at Talynullah, in a house built by himself, on the very spot where the old fort stood. It is surrounded by a garden, and commands a pleasing view of the adjacent country, and a nullah, whose banks are now covered with grain, though in the rainy season they are several feet deep in water. I found him seated in his verandah, the floor of which was covered with white cloth; chairs were placed for Mr. Neave and me. Our reception was similar in every respect to that at Shewalla, excepting that the nazur given by me were eleven mohurs, by Mr. Neave seven. This prince has the appearance of a much younger man than his brother, is

taller, thinner, and not marked with the small pox; yet there is an expression of fierceness in his countenance, which renders him by no means so pleasing as his brother. On Lord Wellesley's arrival, he sent to request he might be permitted to meet his Excellency on the river; yet when the visit of ceremony was paid to him, he never advanced to meet his Lordship, but continued seated in the verandah, till the Persian secretary, Mr. Edmonstone, was sent in to fetch him out. On Mr. Neave's afterwards asking his chief confidential servant, what he could mean by such absurd and inconsistent conduct, he replied, "he has the wind of royalty in him, and does not know whether he stands on his head or his feet." His questions were uninteresting, but he laughingly proposed to accompany me himself to Agra and Delhi. I have no doubt he would be very glad to take such a step. When he was building his house, in clearing out one of the wells two large copper-plates were discovered, fastened together by a seal-ring of the same metal. For these I enquired, but was informed they were not in the house, but should be sent to me in the course of a few days. I made my visit as short as possible, and received the dresses on trays, and gave him, as did Mr. Neave, an additional nazur of two mohurs. He suffered me to rise without stirring from his seat, but on a hint from Mr. Neave immediately handed me to the head of the steps, where he presented me with paun and attar. His allowance being so much smaller than his brothers, his appearance is less splendid. He was dressed in white satin, lined with pink silk. No guards appeared, but his hunting equipage and drums were waiting without the gate of the garden. I observed several very venerable looking eunuchs, and other servants in attendance, both here and at

Shewalla, who joined familiarly in the conversation. The day was very close, and I was heartily fatigued.

March 11.—In the morning as I proceeded to Shewalla, I was met by a minister of the Rajah of Benares, bearing an arjee* from his master to me, excusing himself for not having been able to pay his respects to me in consequence of indisposition. Before sun rise, Mr. Neave called on me to proceed to Benares, to view the Minars. As the morning was cool we preferred riding, but ordered the elephants to follow. The approach to them is through the most frequented and populous part of the town, and a more extraordinary one I never beheld. The streets are so extremely narrow, that it was with difficulty I prevented my horse from touching the side. The houses are built of stone, some six stories high, close to each other, with terraces on the summit. They are whimsically painted, and the architecture is as extraordinary. Bands of carved work run in general round each story, by no means despicably executed; and the large masses of stone used in the walls, together with the neat manner in which they are joined, show that the masons are very tolerable workmen. The windows are extremely small, and probably they are formed in this manner to answer two purposes; first, to prevent the opposite neighbours from overlooking the apartments; and, secondly, to keep the houses more cool during the hot winds. Our style of architecture is by no means adapted to the climate, and the large windows would be insufferable, were it not for the tattys† which are easily applied to a house one story high,

* An address from an inferior to a superior is called an Arjee, not a letter.

† Screens on the outside of a window, composed of the roots of sweet-scented grass, on which water is constantly thrown by the servants, which perfectly cools the air.

but would be impracticable in a house of six stories, and situated in a town. It is seldom that the universal custom of a country is not founded on reason; though, therefore, they have larger windows in their country houses, which can be cooled by artificial means; yet up stairs, where that cannot be done, they reduce the apertures as much as possible. The opposite sides of the street in some places approach so near to each other that they are united by galleries. Several new houses were building on a very handsome scale, and the town in general had an appearance of prosperity, which is by no means deceitful. The city of Benares is so holy, that several Hindoo Rajahs have habitations there, in which their vakeels * reside, and perform for them the requisite sacrifices and ablutions. The land is extremely valuable, and law suits respecting it most frequent. The number of stone and brick houses from one to six stories high is upwards of 12,000. The mud houses, upwards of 16,000. The permanent inhabitants are upwards of 58,000, besides the attendants of the three princes, and several other foreigners, who may amount to near 3000; but the concourse during some of the festivals is beyond all calculation. The Mahometans are not one in ten. †

The mosque with its minars was built by Aurungzebe, to mortify the Hindoos. Not only is it placed on the highest point of land, and most conspicuous from being close to the river, but the foundations are laid on a sacred spot, where a temple before stood, which was destroyed to make room for it. This edifice violated the holy

* Envoy or embassador

† I have given in the Appendix a very curious account of the population of Benare communicated me by my friend Mr. Deane.

city, and proudly overlooked all the temples; and what was perhaps more galling, all the terraces of the houses, where the females were accustomed to enjoy the cool of the morning and evening. The mosque itself has nothing interesting. The minars are light and elegant; so light is one of them that it is not safe to ascend it, and probably in a very short space it will be as low as the house of Timour. From the top of the other is a very extensive view of the town and adjacent country; but my head is not sufficiently steady to mount such a height. I therefore satisfied myself with ascending to the roof of the mosque, whence I overlooked the whole of the town and the river, with the thousands of inhabitants bathing on its banks. A little stone temple, dedicated to Maha-deva, displays its trident at an humble height, close to the side of the crescent at the summit of the minars; no unfit emblem of the state of the two religions, previously to the establishment of British power. Tyranny and oppression seem to be necessary concomitants of the Mussulman religion, whose first principle is intolerance.

The deference with which the English treat all the prejudices of the Hindoos is rapidly reconciling their minds to the Christian government. Not only are they protected in all their ceremonies, but even the duties which were levied on all who made a pilgrimage to Benares, were taken off by Mr. Hastings on his visit to that place. The merchants also begin to be sensible of the perfect security which they enjoy under our government. Confidence once established, most rapidly diffuses itself; and I have been informed from authority which I consider as very good, that many Hindoo countries now under the controul of the Mahrattas, though a nation professing their own religion, would be rejoiced to place themselves

under our dominion. The Mahomedans, of course, detest us; we have deprived them of a mighty empire, and they feel that they hold the little remnants only by our permission. No wonder, then, that the late Nawaub of the Carnatic considered Tippoo as the great safeguard of his religion, and, as such, looked up to him. He was correct in his ideas, and I cannot conceive how our Government could even expect him to think otherwise. The Hindoo can have no feelings of this sort: he has only changed his masters; and although we do not so much unite with him in society as his former master did, yet, on experience, he prefers the one who gives him the firmest protection from insult and oppression.

A singular instance of their appeals to the English occurred in the person of the sister of the Nagpour Rajah, who lately arrived at Benares to perform her ablutions. Mr. Neave caused her to be received with every respect due to her rank. On such an occasion, it is customary to give alms to the different Brahmins, who amount to about seven thousand; and as the ceremonies cannot be performed without their assistance, they are very often unreasonable in their demands, as it seems they were to this good lady. Eight days after her arrival, she sent to Mr. Neave, to complain that they required a sum she could by no means pay, and that she had not been able to begin her devotions. Mr. Neave assured her that the English did not receive a rupee, so that he could do nothing except by mediation with the Brahmins, which he would attempt: he accordingly remonstrated with them, and the lady was permitted to fulfil all her duties at a reasonable rate.

The number of the temples to the different deities is great, but the chief worship is of Vishnou, Maha-deva, and their wives.

It takes about fifteen days to go through the whole business of praying and making offerings of fruit to each, accompanied, of course, with money to the priests. On the first day the pilgrim washes in the holy well of Munkernika; afterwards, each day in the Ganges.

The climate of Benares is considered as very healthy. It is situated in 25° 30′ north, and from its vicinity to the Thibetian mountains, which are in winter covered with snow, is sometimes so cold as to produce icicles. Hoar frost is not uncommon in a morning. The houses of the English at Secrole are good and handsome; there is a nakedness in their appearance from the want of trees, but this is absolutely necessary in India, unless you choose to be devoured by musquitoes. Our elephants brought us back by breakfast time; after which, as the day was cool, I returned the visits that remained unpaid.

Mr. Hawkins resides in the house that was occupied by Mr. Davis, during the ephemeral insurrection of Vizier Ali. I examined the staircase that leads to the top of the house, and which he defended with a spear for upwards of an hour and a half, till the troops came to his relief. It is of a singular construction, in the corner of a room built intirely of wood, on a base of about four feet; the ascent is consequently so winding and rapid, that with difficulty one person can get up at a time. Fortunately, also, the last turn by which you reach the terrace faces the wall. It was impossible, therefore, for the people below to take aim at him whilst he defended the ascent with a spear; they however fired several times, and the marks of the balls are visible in the ceiling. A man had at one time hold of his spear, but by a violent exertion he dragged it through his hand,

and wounded him severely. This gallant defence saved the settlement, as it gave time to the cavalry, that were quartered at Bataber, about ten miles from Benares, to reach Secrole, and oblige Vizier Ali to retire, with his followers, to his residence in Madoodoss's garden. There he defended himself for some time; but at length a gateway was forced, and he had once more the good fortune to escape, with about three hundred of his followers, leaving his family and papers behind. After different attempts to excite insurrection in Oude, he was defeated by the British troops, and obliged to fly for protection to the Jeypour Rajah. The laws of hospitality are held so sacred in India, that however disgusted he might be with the crimes of Vizier Ali, and however he might wish to oblige the British government, the Rajah did not dare openly to surrender him; but on his being given up to Colonel Collins, attempted to throw the blame on his minister, and actually imprisoned him for some time, for having, as he said, taken such a step without his consent. In justice however to this prince, I ought to observe, that he seems to have been influenced by no hope of reward, or any other unworthy motive, to give up the man who had claimed his protection. He stipulated for his life, and that he should not be confined by fetters.

It was a singular circumstance that Vizier Ali should pass through Benares a close prisoner, on the very day twelvemonth that he had massacred the unfortunate Mr. Cherry and his friends, on his way to a perpetual and solitary confinement, from which he once attempted to liberate himself, by bribing his guards, which has only rendered his imprisonment more close. The ferocity and depravity of his character, which early appeared, and the crimes he afterwards

committed, justify every measure of security, and even of severity, which has been exercised towards him. That he was not the son of Asoph ud-Dowlah, has been incontrovertibly ascertained by Sir John Shore, who acted with the most scrupulous delicacy in the investigation; and the allowance he received, of a lac and a half of rupees per annum, was amply sufficient to maintain him, not only in affluence, but splendor. It is superior to the income of the Kutluc Begum and her son; and therefore Vizier Ali could have had no well-grounded cause of complaint. His haughty mind, however, was unable to brook the inferiority of a private station. He had, when on the musnud of Oude, lavished large sums on the soldiers, and considered himself as having many friends among them. Saadut Ali, his successor, from his parsimony, was by no means a popular character; he therefore looked forward with the hope that disturbances would arise, which from his vicinity to Benares he might foment, till they ultimately replaced him in power. Conscious that this could only be accomplished by the extermination of the English, he appears to have endeavoured to form a Mussulmaun league to drive these heretics from the East. The papers, found in Madoodoss's garden, discover that this attempt was not unattended by success; and the implication of Mirza Jumma, the son of Jehan Bukht, and of Shums-ud-Dowlah, the brother of the Nawaub of Dacca, proves that no dependence is to be placed on the gratitude or attachment of the highest Mussulmauns. I have given in the Appendix, a translation of the letter found amongst Vizier Ali's papers, from Shums-ud-Dowlah to Zemaun Shah, conjuring him to place himself at the head of the league, and liberate the Mussulmauns of India.

The massacre at Benares has been by some supposed to have been merely an unpremeditated ebullition of rage in Vizier Ali, on finding that he must go down to Calcutta; and that his resentment against Mr. Cherry was owing to that gentleman's having so ably arranged the journey of Saadut Ali to Cawnpore, (when summoned by Sir John Shore to be placed on the musnud,) that his departure was not suspected by his own family, till they heard of his having reached his destination. That this might have heightened his dislike to Mr. Cherry, I can easily believe; but it is evident that his plans were arranged long before the order arrived, which in fact was not issued till after repeated warnings had been received by the Government that he meditated mischief. The Nawaub Vizier made strong representations on the subject to the Resident at his court, which he communicated to Mr. Cherry. Many of the most respectable inhabitants of Benares confirmed his Excellency's suspicions; and so convinced was General Erskine of the danger, that he urged Mr. Cherry to have a few companies of sepoys stationed at Secrole, but without success. At length, on the 24th of December, 1798, Lord Wellesley communicated his orders for the removal of Vizier Ali to Calcutta, and on the 14th of January, 1799, the massacre took place; which had been evidently determined upon when the assassins quitted Madoodoss's garden; for, according to a Mussulmaun superstition, they had carried with them their winding sheets, which had been dipped in the holy well at Mecca.

There seems to have been a fatal degree of infatuation in Mr. Cherry, whom no warning could sufficiently alarm. Conscious that he deserved no ill from Vizier Ali, he expected none; forgetting

that when on the musnud he had shown himself capable of every crime. Baffled in his hopes of maturing a general insurrection in India supported by foreign invasion, Vizier Ali seems to have been stimulated, by the ferocity of his disposition, at least, to gratify his revenge by the murder of all the English at Secrole, and by the plunder of Benares. That success should in any degree have attended him, is to be deeply regretted; but when it is considered upon how nice a thread the lives of the other European inhabitants then hung, there is a consolation in reflecting that Providence was pleased to limit the evil to so small an extent.

On calling on Mr. Neave, I found there Baboo Dheep Narrain, brother to Oodit Narrain, Rajah of Benares, who waited on me in his brother's name, to invite me to Ramnagur, where we agreed to breakfast the next morning. He is a very fine boy, only eleven years old, but has the stature and appearance of sixteen. He tendered me a nazur of five gold mohurs, and was received with the proper compliments. On my way to dine with Mr. Barton, I met a large party of the Prince Mirza Shegofta Bukht's servants, bearing twenty-one trays. I took them on with me to get an interpreter, when I found by his head messenger, that his Highness sent me his blessing, and something to eat; I returned my respects and thanks, gave a gold mohur to the bearers, and disposed of the food, which consisted of pilaws, currys, &c. to my suwarry.

Mr. Barton holds the place of Collector of Benares, one of the most valuable in Bengal; for although the Judges take precedency of the Collectors, the latter are in the receipt of the largest income, and when they are promoted to the former office, may well be considered as losers by their advancement. Altogether the India

Company's service is the finest in the world, though its advantages are much diminished. A young man can maintain himself on his allowance, from the moment he enters India, and he is certain, ultimately, of procuring a handsome competence.

March 12.—At six in the morning, accompanied by Mr. Neave and Mr. Salt, I proceeded to Ramnagur to visit the Rajah of Benares. We rode, and to avoid the streets of the town, took a small circuit, which made the distance about six miles. The castle is situated on the opposite side of the river, to cross which we made use of one of the Rajah's boats that was in attendance, sending our horses back to Secrole. We found his elephants and palanquins in waiting at the waters edge, which conveyed us to the gardens, about a mile inland. As he was still too unwell to attend us, he sent his brother to do the honours. The garden is square, and laid out perfectly in the Dutch style, with formal walks and clipt hedges, and the flowers in regular compartments. At the south-end was a large and handsome building of stone, consisting of verandahs with stone pillars and small rooms on the sides. It was fantastically painted of different colours, which however had a pleasing effect. The view from the terrace on the summit was fine. The garden formed a good foreground; beyond, was the river, widening with an extensive curve, and on its elevated bank the whole town of Benares. Opposite to this house is a door leading to the tank, and at the angles of the garden are handsome round summer-houses, with domes, elevated above the wall, which is of a considerable height. The Rajah often retires here with his women, and we observed many swings and other play-things of eastern idleness. Beyond the door-way, the tank immediately presents itself, and is one of the most

magnificent works I ever beheld. It is of very large dimensions, with flights of steps down to the bottom. On the right is an extensive and by no means inelegant habitation, the front of which is level with the water, the back with the top of the tank. It was intended as a bathing house for the women, where they could amuse themselves unseen by any persons without: the baths communicate with the tank. At the two corners are two towers with domes similar to those on the wall of the gardens, and which render the angles uniform. On the third side, or right hand, as you enter, is a most elegant Hindoo temple, small, and built of stone. From a square base it rises into a dome. The whole outside is divided into compartments of about two feet square, in each of which is exquisitely carved the figure of a deity. There are three open doors, and a false one cut out in stone, the mouldings of which are most delicately executed. The inside is nearly similar, except that in the wall formed by the false door is a nich for a statue of Lachmy. In the centre was to have been placed the statue of Maha-deva, to whom the whole was dedicated. The fourth side facing the garden is vacant. Unfortunately these beautiful buildings were never finished. They were left in this state by Cheyt Sing, when he fled from Benares; and the superstition of India prevents his successor from completing them, for it would be considered as tending to inherit his misfortunes. Cheyt Sing is still alive in the Mahratta country, living on a small jaghire. He has married a nautch girl, and is sunk into debauchery and contempt. He has no issue, and the person placed on the musnud is his nearest relation, the present Rajah being his great nephew, and great grandson to Bulwunt Sing, who built the fort of Ramnagur.

Perceiving our young conductor was most heartily tired by his walk, we begged that we might not detain him any longer. He joyfully returned to the castle, whilst we proceeded to his brother's tent, on the border of the tank, where breakfast was provided for us. It would have been improper for him to have attended us there, as our food was unholy. Mr. Salt afterwards took a sketch of the scene, and I was amused by a fellow, who imitated the dialects and manners of the different nations and tribes of India. His change of countenance was so admirable, that I should not have known him to be the same person. I gave him a mohur, with which he retired highly pleased.

A small town joins the fort of Ramnagur, consisting of two streets crossing each other, of a very good width and uniform architecture. It would be really handsome, were it not for the tattys, which quite conceal the fronts. At the extremity of the largest is the gate of the castle, through which we entered into a court, where are kept the horses, cows, elephants, &c. The palace forms one side of a second court. It is neat, and whitewashed, with the wood-work painted green. At the door I was met by our young conductor, who led me up stairs, where I was received by the Rajah, who presented me a large nazur of gold mohurs, which I touched, afterwards raising my hand to my head, but declined taking. I embraced him three times, and was led by him to the chief seat in his Dewan Khanah, he being on my right hand, and Mr. Neave on my left. I here found assembled all his court, and about fifty nautch-girls, of every age and description He also presented to me a second brother, who had hitherto been without a name, but who was to receive one at the marriage of his brother Baboo Dheep Narrain, which was to take place in

the course of the year. The Rajah is most immoderately fat, and looks ill. It is suspected that his complaint is not a very creditable one for a Brahmin and married man: I could therefore make no enquiries respecting his health. He was attended by three Mahomedan physicians. The Hindoos do not like to employ our medical men; why, I know not. The Dewan Khanah was small; his garden-house would have made a better, and there, indeed, I should probably have been received, had not his illness prevented his moving so far. The room was white; the ornaments painted with green; lustres of the same colour were ranged down the middle, and on brackets at the sides. In compartments were English prints framed and glazed. We conversed but little, our attention being diverted by the nautching. Some of the Persian airs were pretty, and I was much amused with their singing "I care for nobody, no not I," and "Marlbrook."

The heat from the crowd was insufferable; for a relief, therefore, I requested to see some of the rooms towards the river, begging that he would not stir. His brothers accompanied me. We found them small, but pretty, covered with an appearance of silver, caused by powdered talc. The river washes the foundations of a small temple of Maha-deva, which is attached to the palace, and is built of red stone unpainted. The present Rajah, who is in very comfortable circumstances, having upwards of four lac of rupees per annum, is much improving this place; he seems to be fond of it; and indeed its situation is very pleasing. He has nothing now to do with the zemindary of Benares, but receives an allowance from the Company. He has no family, but seems most affectionately attached to his brothers, one of whom will probably succeed him.

We returned to the Dewan Khanah, and perceiving that the Rajah was much exhausted with the exertion of sitting up, I soon gave the hint that I wished to retire; twenty trays of shawls, kheenkhabs,* together with one of jewels, were tendered to me: to Mr. Neave nine trays of the former articles; to Mr. Salt five: we each chose a pair of shawls worth about twenty rupees, and declined the rest. The ceremony of attar was then gone through, and we retired, leaving him to his repose. His brother accompanied us to the outer gate, where we again employed the Rajah's palanquins to convey us to the water side, and in one of his boats we proceeded towards Benares.

At a gaut above the town we landed Mr. Neave, where his carriage was in waiting. Mr. Barton had promised to send his to another below, whither I wished to go by water to view the town. The river forms here a very fine sweep of about four miles in length. On the external side of the curve, which is constantly the most elevated, is situated the holy city of Benares. It is covered with buildings to the water's edge, and the opposite shore being, as usual, extremely level, the whole may be beheld at once. From passing through the streets, or even from viewing it from the minars, I could have formed no conception of its beauty. Innumerable pagodas of every size and shape occupy the bank, and even have incroached on the river. Uniformly built of stone, and of the most solid workmanship, they are able to resist the torrents, which in the rainy season beat against them. Several are painted, others gilded, and some remain of the colour of the stone. They generally have domes, often finished with the trident of Maha-deva. Gauts are very frequent for the convenience of ablution; and

* Silks embroidered with gold.

wherever the houses approach the river, they are necessarily built thirty feet high, of large stones, before they reach the level of the street above. The contrast between these elevated masses of solid masonry, and the light domes of the pagodas, is singular and pleasing. Trees occasionally overhang the walls, and the thousands of people constantly either bathing, or washing linen in the water, add not a little to this most extraordinary scene. None of the drawings that I have seen give me the least idea of it. Land is here of prodigious value, as the nearer to the river the more holy. Pious Hindoos think it a work of great merit to form gauts, or build temples, on its banks. I had frequent occasion to regret that many buildings remained unfinished, in consequence of the death of the builders before they were completed: not only superstition operates here, but the circumstance, that were it finished by his heir, the whole of the merit, as well as credit, would go to the original founder. A law similar to the Bishop's bill in Ireland would have a good effect, obliging the executors to finish the undertaking. It is a pity that any thing should prevent this noble city from being brought to that perfection of which it is capable. I felt myself sufficiently a Hindoo when viewing the lofty minars, to wish that hereafter Government may restore the spot to its original owners, and remove this cruel eye-sore from the holy city. At Raje gaut I could perceive no carriage, but thinking it might be upon the hill, I proceeded thither and dismissed the boat. My hircarrah led the way, and, as I supposed, knew where it was waiting. I could ask him no questions, from my ignorance of the language, and Mr. Salt was in the same predicament. After walking through the close and narrow streets of Benares, half dead with heat and dust, I found it

impossible to proceed any farther, so took up my station under the shade of some lofty tamarind trees in a Mahomedan burying-ground, and dispatched my hircarrah with a note to Mr. Neave, stating my situation, and begging he would find some means of releasing me. In the mean time we were surrounded by groups of men, women, and children, examining our appearance most closely, and probably wondering what could bring us there. They did not however disturb us even by begging, and Mr. Salt amused himself by drawing them as they stood by; a business they did not seem perfectly to like. At length two palanquins arrived from Mr. Neave, to whose house we immediately adjourned, and laughed heartily at the contrast between visiting Princes, and being obliged to toil on foot through the heat of a nearly vertical sun.

Mr. Neave presented me with a part of a stone which fell in the province of Benares, during the appearance of a meteor. The evidence collected is in the Appendix. I have only to observe, that a stone of the same kind is not to be found any where; and that what made the people take notice of it was, that no stones of any sort are to be met with in the neighbourhood. I really think it the best authenticated instance of the kind I have met with. Lord Wellesley has another piece of it.

March 13.—I breakfasted early with Mr. Neave, and afterwards held a durbar or levee for the natives of rank sufficient to be entitled to sit down in my presence. Several shroffs* first appeared, to show me the specimens of their finest manufactures in silks, gold cloth, and embroidered gauzes. The pieces were of the richest patterns, and very high-priced. I understand that more are manufactured

* Money-brokers.

here than at any other place in India, and that they are not only used in the East for dresses of ceremony, but are exported in considerable quantities to Europe. I conceive that the trade of gold and silver stuffs not a little assists in keeping up the prosperity of Benares; though on a religious consideration, it ought only to be attributed to the holiness of the place. I procured from a banker one of the Zodiac mohurs, which are now so extremely rare, that it is almost impossible to procure a complete set. I have given some account of these in the Appendix. We got over this pleasing inspection before the time appointed by the Princes to do me the honour of being present at my durbar.

They are by no means friends, and wish never to meet, in consequence of interfering claims on the point of precedency; one being the eldest; the other being royal by both parents. They therefore came to different gardens in the neighbourhood, and waited till notice was sent that I was ready to receive them. Mirza Khorum first made his appearance with a tolerably handsome suwarry. He entered the gates of the compound (or domain) on his elephant, and was immediately complimented with a royal salute, or rather, as I afterwards discovered, doubly royal; for by a ridiculous mistake, the artillerymen fired forty-two guns, conceiving both of the princes had arrived at the same time. He came to the house in his state palanquin, my guard of sepoys presenting arms as he passed. I received him at the bottom of the steps, and having been honoured with an embrace, presented him with a nazur of thirteen gold mohurs. I then led him to his seat, and placed him on my right hand. The conversation was not very interesting, consisting merely of enquiries after my health in his own and his mother's name. I

requested he would honour me by accepting a brace of double-barrelled pistols very richly inlaid with gold, to which he made not the least objection. On his hinting that he wished to retire, attar was presented to him, and betel: he was handed in the same manner to his palanquin, and received the same military compliments as on his arrival. The artillerymen now apprised us of their mistake, by requesting leave to retire. We were not a little alarmed on the discovery, lest the other prince should arrive before more powder could be procured: a mesenger was instantly dispatched to beg him to wait a little, and stating what had happened. It would have been the most cruel of all insults had he not received the same attentions as his brother.

Every thing being arranged, his Highness made his appearance with a suwarry which evidently showed the difference between 11,000 rupees per month and 4,000. His state palanquin was however equally splendid with cloth of gold. I met him at the steps, whilst the proper royal salute was firing, and presented him my nazur of eleven gold mohurs. He was accompanied by a man, whom he informed me was his tutor, and whom he requested might be presented to me, and permitted to have a seat; a mark of high regard from a man of his pride, which shows how much the Mussulmauns respect their preceptors: of course his wishes were complied with. I gave him a silver hookah, and enquired after the brass plates. They were presented, and laid at my feet; it was my wish to have kept them, but Mr. Neave had determined to have them for himself, in which he succeeded. They are about two feet square, covered with Sanscrit characters, and fastened together by a seal ring of great size, on which is engraved the goddess Lachmy.

I understand, from Mr. Wilford, whose antiquarian researches have done so much credit to the British name, that it is a grant of land similar to that found at Monghyr, and of about the same date.

As the plates were not presented to me, the Prince requested my acceptance of an old sword, which, he told Mr. Neave, had belonged to Firroçhsere, one of his ancestors, known to us as having, when Emperor, given to the India Company their first charter of free trade. I have, however, a little doubt on the subject, as the blade was not of sufficient value, for so splendid a sovereign to have used. The hilt was copper gilt; the scabbard green velvet. The Prince gave it into my hands, while, at his request, I presented to him two gold mohurs over it; of this I endeavoured, but without success, to obtain an explanation; as it appeared to arise from a superstition similar to one which exists in England, of not receiving from a friend a present of any sharp instrument, without making some return. He took his leave with the same ceremonies as his brother, and received the same military honour. The returning my visit was a very high compliment; I was the more pleased, as it was perfectly voluntary, and not in consequence of any official application from Lord Wellesley. I afterwards received the Vakeels of the Mahratta States, the great uncle and brother of the Rajah of Benares, together with many other natives of rank. Among them was a very fine and fair boy, son of Golam Mahomed, the celebrated Rohilla chief, who resides at Benares with his mother. When fatigued by their company, I dismissed them civilly, by calling for attar and betel, which I distributed according to their rank. The highest compliment is to give it to the visitor to help himself. This the Princes did to me, and I of course to them. The next is to give

it to them with your own hand. To those not entitled to attar, you give betel, more or less, either yourself, or by the hands of your attendants. As the Rajah of Benares was prevented from being present only by indisposition, I sent him by his brother a handsome gold watch, and gave another to the boy himself. He had never been worth one before, and I never saw joy more visibly depicted in a countenance than it was in his when he received it.

The whole was not over till one o'clock, when I returned heartily tired to the General's. I was engaged to dine at Mr. Neave's, where I made an attempt to get the Sanscrit plates, but without success; though he admitted, that it was originally the intention of the Prince to have given them to me.

March 16.—In the evening I took leave of my hospitable and friendly host. I had uniformly found myself at home, during my stay with him, and had every reason to be grateful for his attentions, and evident wish to make it agreeable. He promised to meet me at Chunar on my return, which is properly his head-quarters, and escort me back to this place. I departed at nine, attended by Mr. Salt. The night was at first sultry, but it afterwards became so cool as to make me use all my coverings. At five in the morning I arrived at the house of Mr. Deane, situated about a mile from the town of Juanpore.

I found Mr. Deane up, and his curricle at the door, which we immediately mounted to visit the town of Juanpore. It is situated on the Goomty river, so named, like the ancient Meander, from its winding course. The castle rises considerably above the level of the country, and is venerable in its ruins. Our road lay on the opposite side of the river, through the midst of monuments and

mosques in ruins, which gave an idea of ancient magnificence. A suburb of clay huts led to a large serai,* formed of the same materials, through which we passed to a bridge of considerable extent, divided into two parts; the one consists of ten arches, being over the boundary of the river during the dry season, which, with the other, is capable of taking in the whole volume of water in the rains. It is said to have been built in the year 972 of the Hejira, by the Emperor Akbar, and, according to the legend, on the following occasion: "Akbar, when on an expedition against the rebellious Soubadar Ally Coolly Khawn, arrived at Juanpore. Making an excursion on the water, he saw a woman weeping, and enquired the cause. She informed him, that she was a widow, and had come from the other side of the water to sell cotton; that she wished to return home, but had not the means of paying the ferryman. The Emperor, affected at her relation, immediately ordered Moneem Khan Khanan to build a bridge over the river. The bridge was accordingly completed in three years, at an expense of thirty lacs of rupees, under the superintendence of Faheem, a slave of Khan Khanan." Such is the account of a native historian. I have only to observe, that the expense is enormous, as there is no rich carved work in it, and the river is so shallow in the dry season, that there could be little difficulty in laying the foundations. Faheem, however, was an excellent workman. The torrents are violent in the rainy season, and the river rises so high as completely to cover the road on the top, yet it has stood nearly three hundred years. It is at present paved with stone. Mr. Deane is going to give it a covering of gravel, and to repair the trifling dilapidations which time has caused. It is

* A kind of inn.

certainly a great work for an Asiatic, and is considered by the natives as one of the wonders of India. Mr. Hodges's view seems to have been done from memory. On one side of the bridge is a garden and house belonging to the Nawaub of Oude, completely going to decay. We passed through a wretched town, and approached the walls of the castle, to which we kept close, till we reached a gateway ornamented with mosaic work of different coloured varnished tiles. It has been beautiful. The courts are extensive, and the verandahs on the walls command a very pleasing prospect, particularly on one side, which overhangs the river and the bridge, beyond which are the ruins of the different tombs, raising their cupolas among palms and tamarind-trees. The distant country is rich in cultivation, and well clothed with wood. I regret that the resident magistrate's house was not built here, rather than in the bottom, where it is now placed: independently of the beauty of the scenery, the profusion of materials on the spot would have rendered it more desirable in point of economy. The walls of the fort are of solid stone-work, and the remains of the habitations within serve as a receptacle for debtors. Their confinement must be nearly voluntary, for escape seems perfectly easy. Mr. Deane, with a zeal to preserve the remains of ancient splendour, that does honour to his taste, has applied for, and obtained permission, to put the whole into better repair. Had he been magistrate at this place earlier, the castle would have been his residence, and would again have risen to its ancient splendour.

Our next visit was to a mosque, now falling to ruins. We entered a large quadrangle, formed on three sides by a colonnade of stone

two stories high ; the lower pillars square, of a singular architecture, and three deep ; those of the upper tier similar, but round ; and each dividing the space into different apartments, separated from each other by rich fret-work of carved black stone. The roof and floor were formed of large blocks of stone, many of which have fallen in, through their great weight, and have assisted in hastening the ruin of this, certainly magnificent, building. The fourth side, which faces the entrance, consists of the mosque itself, having two towers and two lofty domes; a colonnade extends on each side, so as to form the square. It differs only in having the square pillars of double the height, the building there being but one story high. We next visited another mosque similar in plan and architecture, but in much better preservation. Government, with a laudable liberality, proposed to put this into a perfect state of repair. The Faquirs and old women most vehemently opposed this, declaring that they would perish sooner than have it touched. This opposition might easily be surmounted by giving the direction of the business to one of the Mussulmaun priests, who would then have his share of the profit, and declare it a holy work. It is, however, at present abandoned. We observed several remains of palaces, and other relics of ancient magnificence. In the year 1465 Juanpore was conquered by Sultan Beloli, before which period it was governed by independent princes, whose line became extinct in 1492. It was afterwards the residence for some time of Sultan Secunder. Ackbar also honoured it with his presence, as before observed, and built the bridge. It has since been gradually declining. The majority of the population are Mahomedans, but the place has lately been more celebrated from being the residence of a race of Hindoos, called Rajekooman, with whom the practice of infan-

ticide prevailed, till it was abolished by the British Government. It only extended to the exposure of their female children, but that was almost universal. A full account of the steps taken on this occasion is given in the fourth volume of the Asiatic Researches. They have perfectly answered the purpose intended. Juanpore is included in the district of Benares, and of course, came into our possession at the same time. There is a nullah between the town and Mr. Deane's residence, which in the rains is passable only in a boat. The convicts were making bricks for the erection of a bridge here, which, when finished, will be a public convenience, the high road from Benares to Lucknow being directly over it. We returned to breakfast. The hot winds were set in, which confined us to the house for the rest of the day.

March 18.—The hot winds confined us the whole morning to the house. After an early dinner I set off at four o'clock, leaving Mr. Salt to take up my bearers after an interval of six hours. I found it excessively hot and dusty till the sun and wind declined together. The ruins of tombs and mosques are as numerous on the other side of Juanpore as they are on the side of Benares: some were very beautifully inlaid with the coloured glazed tiles. The country was slightly undulated, and the Goomty occasionally meandered into sight. Mango topes, as usual, were frequent. The ryots * were all at work in their fields, some reaping, others drawing water at the wells, which occur in almost every field. It is a singular circumstance, that in this country, which is almost intirely a sand, and where the heat is so intense, a continual supply of water is always to be met with at a slight depth

* Cultivators of the soil.

during the whole of summer. There are no fences to the fields, except occasionally, where a row of the Indian fig is planted along the side of the road. In the night I passed the boundaries of the East India Company's territory, and entered that of his Excellency the Nawaub Vizier.

March 19.—On awaking I should have known the change by the face of the country. The heavy hand of oppression had evidently diminished the quantity of land in cultivation. The crops were more scanty, but the mango topes increased in number, and were now more beautiful from the vicinity of the jungle, where the Butea shone resplendent. The monkeys and peacocks were numerous, and perpetually called off my attention from the badness of the roads, and made me the less regret that we were obliged to proceed at a very slow rate. A sepoy of Captain Delamaine's, sent to conduct me to his master's quarters at Sultaunpore, met me early in the morning, but as he had no note, and I did not understand what he said, my bearers carried me on to the next stage on the direct road, leaving Sultaunpore two miles to the right. On finding my mistake, I was excessively vexed; but preferred returning, to travelling through the whole of the day. I arrived at Captain Delamaine's about one o'clock. Fortunately, during the whole of the morning, there was a fresh breeze from the eastward, which was perfectly cool. The hot winds come from the N.W. over the deserts that skirt the Indus. The mountains of Thibet render the other wind more cool than could be expected so near the tropic. Mr. Salt arrived just as we were sitting down to dinner, much fatigued, the heat having greatly increased in the evening. Sultaunpore cantonment is pleasingly situated on an extensive plain on the

west bank of the Goomty, with a nullah intersecting it at right angles. In the rains the landscape must be pretty, as there are plenty of mango topes, and the river winds as usual. At present the heat has burnt up all vegetation, and covered the whole country with a russet brown. The cantonment is built to contain an entire brigade; but at this time the greater part are on duty with General Lake, and several of the rest are absent assisting the Aumils* in collecting the Nawaub's rents from the Zemindars, who frequently refuse to pay without compulsion. The town is on the opposite side of the river. At seven in the evening I again set off, leaving Mr. Salt to follow. I found my bearers so much worse than usual, that they tired before they had carried me half a stage; it was consequently dark before we arrived, and they had no oil. I made them buy some at a village, and went fast to sleep. After some time I awoke, and found that the palanquin was not moving on; and hearing no noise, I threw open my doors, fearing lest my bearers had deserted their post, a circumstance that sometimes occurs, and more frequently in the most unpleasant situations, where they are alarmed respecting tigers. I found the fellows lying on the ground around me, and they gave me to understand, chiefly by signs, that they had lost their way, and had sent one of the Mussaulchees† to seek for a house. I own my situation was by no means comfortable; we were in a jungle without the appearance of a road; and to add to our anxiety, a lurid light in the sky, with occasional forked lightning darting from it, and the thunder rolling at a distance, gave us reason to fear the approach of a north-wester. The country, in which we were, was far from being free from wild

* Native collectors of districts. † Link boys.

beasts, and robberies were not unfrequent; to add to our vexation, our messenger returned without success. I thought that in the opposite direction I had heard a dog join concert with the jackals; I therefore sent him off again. After an hour's absence he returned with a surly looking fellow, whom, nevertheless, a promise of a handsome present induced to undertake to put us in the road. I felt our situation too unpleasant to go to sleep, so watched the lightning playing at a distance, which, to my great consolation, approached no nearer to us. At three in the morning I was cheered by hearing the cry of my bearers, as they entered a village, answered by others, and found there the first relay of men that Mr. Paul had sent down from Lucknow. To my very great astonishment I here found a packet of European letters, which Mr. Deane had forwarded after me from Juanpore. It was the first I had received since leaving England; and the joy of finding my child and friends were well, was a delightful contrast to the anxiety which the events of the night had excited in my mind. I soon fell fast asleep, and my bearers being much superior to any I had yet had, we got on most rapidly.

March 20.—I arose about six in the morning. The jungle was frequent, with mango topes and villages; cultivation more scanty than in the British territories. Nullahs often occurred, and in many places were excellent stone bridges; the road was tolerable. The day was cool, as the north-wester, which I had feared in the night, had here rendered us service by pouring down its burden, and greatly cooling the air. By nine o'clock I reached a tent, which his Highness the Nawaub Vizier had sent to receive me during the heat of the day. I feasted on an excellent hot breakfast, and still more

enjoyed a perfect ablution. Soon afterwards Mr. Salt arrived. We took an early cold dinner, and at two I set off for Lucknow, distant sixty miles. The bearers were excellent, but at the last stage Mr. Paul had placed his own servants, who, with a rapidity that astonished me, brought me to his house by half past six on the morning of the 21st of March, precisely one month after my leaving Calcutta.

CHAPTER III.

Residence at Lucknow.—Visits to his Highness the Nawaub Vizier of Oude.—To the Begums of Sujah-ud-Dowlah, and Asoph-ud-Dowlah.—To the Prince Mirza Soolimaun Shekoo.—To Almas Ali Khan.—Character of Saadut Ali Khan.—Observations on Oude.

CHAPTER III.

March 21.—This being New-year's day with the Mussulmauns, a salute was fired by the Nawaub on the appearance of the new moon, and presents of sweetmeats were sent by him to Lieutenant Colonel Scott.

March 22.—Received the visits of Lieutenant Colonel Scott, Lieutenant Colonel Marshall, who commands the regiment quartered here, and other officers. I fixed upon paying my visit of ceremony to his Excellency the Nawaub Vizier to-morrow morning. Mr. Ouseley, who acts as aid-de-camp to him, dined with us. Mr. Paul had in part arranged my suwarry previously to my arrival; I now finally engaged the whole that we consideredas necessary, viz. two soontaburdars, six hircarrahs, one jemmadar,* six kijmutgars,† with one head, one mate, and ten common bearers.

March 23.—By seven in the morning I called on Colonel Scott, and being mounted on one of his elephants, proceeded towards the palace, distant the whole length of the town: his secretary and mine followed; our suwarrys preceding us, and our palanquins in attendance. On entering the first court, we found his state elephants, with their houdahs ‡ and coverings, drawn out on each side, with his ca-

* A servant who commands all the others.

† Servants that wait at table. They are always Mussulmauns.

‡ Seats placed on the backs of elephants. The natives have them flat, with cushions; the Europeans have placed a seat on them, so that they resemble the body of a phaeton. The native Princes frequently have canopies over them, richly ornamented with silver and gold.

valry, camels, and led horses, richly caparisoned. The second court was lined with troops, who received us with presented arms. It was impossible to advance any further on our elephants; we therefore quitted them, and entering our palanquins, were carried through a smaller into a larger court, at the end of which was a palace built by the present Nawaub, where he generally resides. It is a handsome edifice, surrounded by a verandah. At the bottom of the steps we quitted our palanquins, and were met by his Excellency at the top. He embraced me as his equal. At that moment a salute of seventeen guns was fired. We were led to a breakfast table in a room furnished with chairs, and every other article in the European style. The greatest part of his family were present, but he introduced only his second son, who is his general, and prime minister. Two courtiers, who are more particularly under the protection of the English, and who have been dignified by them with the titles of Lord Noodle and Lord Doodle, were also there; but the person I observed with the most curiosity, was Almas Ali Khan, the eunuch so celebrated by Mr. Burke's pathetic account of the distresses which his wives and children suffered from the barbarity of that "Captain General in iniquity," Mr. Hastings. He is a venerable, old-woman-like being, upwards of eighty, full six feet high, and stout in proportion. After all the cruel plunderings which he is stated as having undergone, he is supposed to be worth half a million of money; and no wonder, when it is considered, that for a considerable time he was Aumil, or renter, of nearly half the province of Oude. The Nawaub watches with care for his succession which by the Eastern custom belongs to him. With all his affluence, Almas is but a slave, now nearly in his dotage, though

formerly an active, and intriguing courtier. Lieutenant Colonel Marshall and several of his officers were of the party.

The breakfast partook of every country; tea, coffee, ices, jellies, sweetmeats, French pies, and other made dishes, both hot and cold. The Nawaub himself laughed, and said that his French cook had provided rather a dinner than a breakfast. The service was English, with a profusion of fine cut-glass basons. After breakfast I gave a hint that I wished to depart, when the presents were produced, consisting of twenty trays of shawls, muslins, gold stuffs, &c. and one tray of jewels. At the door were an elephant, with a silver houdah, a horse with its caparisons, and a state palanquin of cloth of gold. On my declining to accept them, he remonstrated strongly, saying, that he knew very well I might accept them if I pleased, being totally independent of the India Company, and not bound by their regulations. I admitted the fact, but observed that I considered the presents offered on such a public occasion, not as a free gift, but a kind of tribute required from a man of his rank, when visited by a person in my situation. I consequently persevered in my refusal, only taking a pair of shawls, when I declared I considered the compliment as equally paid. Presents were also offered to Colonel Scott and Mr. Salt, who acted in the same manner.

His Excellency much amused me by the account he gave of the manner in which my arrival was announced to him, by the messenger whom he placed purposely on the road: "Lord Saheb ka bhánja, Company ki nawasa teshrif laia;" literally translated "the Lord (Wellesley) sister's son, and the grandson of Mrs. Company is arrived." These titles originated from a belief of the natives that the India Company is an old woman, and that the Governors-

general are her children. As I did not hold that office, and yet was received with great, nay almost equal, honours, they probably conceived I stood in that degree of relationship. His Excellency conducted me to the steps, and presented the attar. I then returned in my palanquin. Mr. Grant arrived, on his road to Futty Ghur, to which he is just appointed Judge.

March 25.—I received a very polite official note from Mr. Ouseley, Aid-de-camp to his Excellency, begging that I would communicate to him any thing I might wish or want, and that I might depend on its immediate execution.

March 26.—The Nawaub had fixed on this morning to return my visit, and breakfast with me. Colonel Scott attended, to assist me in doing the honours, and to act as interpreter. His Excellency arrived by seven. At breakfast he was profuse in his offer of every thing I could want. I requested the occasional use of one of his Hummaums.* He gave the proper order immediately. My next wish was for the use of two of his houdah elephants, which were with equal readiness promised to be sent.

The General attended his father. I declared my wish to return his visit, which was regarded as a compliment. He begged I would consider his house as mine, and fix whatever day I pleased. At length the next morning was chosen. Presents were offered to both, consisting of the usual twenty trays of shawls, &c. for each, and one tray of jewels; these were with little difficulty accepted. They both departed as they came, on their elephants, and on investigation we found that a few silver spoons were all that was missing. The plunder of his Excellency's followers is very often to a much greater

* Hot-baths.

amount. Colonel Scott sent the proper enquiries in my name after the health of the Prince Mirza Sulimaun Shekoo, son of the King of Delhi, who resides here under the protection of the English, on an allowance that renders his situation perfectly comfortable. He gives himself infinitely more airs than his nephews at Benares, and I had some reason to suspect there might be a difficulty in arranging the ceremony of my visit. Every thing, however, is settled, and I am to have the honour of presenting my nazur on the 31st instant.

March 27.—Attended by Colonel Scott and Mr. Salt, I proceeded to breakfast with the General Mirza Mahomed Ally, second son and prime minister to the Nawaub Vizier. He resides at a palace on the banks of the Goomty, called Hussein Baug. It has a very good garden, surrounded by a wall and terrace with pavilions. At one end is a garden-house, with a piece of water in front. He has newly whitewashed the whole, and given it a perfect repair. We were received with the usual compliments, and after breakfast the same presents were tendered as at his father's, the identical elephant, horse, and palanquin having been sent by his Excellency. I declined all but the shawls. The General then led me to a different part of the garden, where were a pair of carriage-horses, which he earnestly pressed me to accept as a trifling mark of his respect and regard, and which were by no means a part of the present of ceremony, which, as I must have perceived, was complete without them. I felt pleased by the attention, and assured him that I would with pleasure have taken them, were it not that they would be totally useless, as I had no carriage of my own, and Mr. Paul had a superabundance of both. He was satisfied with my reasons, and we parted very graciously.

I then proceeded to the hummaum of his Excellency, which had been prepared for me. It consists of two rooms at the back of a very beautiful garden-pavilion, with, as usual, a bason of water in front. They are heated by flues under the floor. The first room is about twenty feet square, with three fountains for either hot or cold water, in oblong niches on three sides of the room. On the fourth side is the entrance into the inner-room. At each corner is a pillar, from which arches spring that sustain the roof, which gradually narrows into a cupola. The whole is covered with fine white chunam, ornamented with black, to correspond with the floor, which is entirely of white marble, inlaid with a mosaic work of black and red. Here I completely undressed, and wrapped round my middle a piece of red linen. I was then assisted by two men into the other room, where the heat was so great as at first to take away my breath. This was similar in construction, except that in front was a bason elevated five feet from the ground filled with warm water, and on the right was another such in the floor: the fountains were playing into the middle of the room, and being a little cooler than the floor, were very agreeable. The whole was built of red porphyry to the height of a few feet from the ground; the rest, of a red stone. Eight fellows, in colour somewhat resmbling the marble, and covered only with a cloth, now commenced their operations. They laid me on the floor, rubbed my feet with pumice-stone, kneaded all my limbs, and rubbed me with mohair-bags on their hands till every pore was cleansed from the soil contracted in the journey. I next was rubbed with a composition of clay, and then with a perfumed oil, both of which were sent by his Excellency, with every article of silver, basons, &c. as used by himself. The

hair was cleaned with a composition of flour and other substances. At length I leapt into one of the marble basons, and having thoroughly washed myself, came out, and was covered with hot cloths of a very fine texture, and with borders of gold. I returned to the next room, which felt much cooler, and gradually prepared me for the open air.

The use of the hot bath is prevalent throughout the East, and, so far as I can judge, seems most refreshing. It gives a softness to the skin, and a sensation of coolness, that at first could hardly be expected; and by keeping the pores free from obstruction, must be essentially beneficial in a hot climate, where the inhabitants are liable, from excessive perspiration, to be perpetually dirty. I believe it is now perfectly ascertained that it by no means relaxes; and probably, ere long, the prejudices against it being removed, it will become a much more fashionable remedy even in Europe. I suspect that we have strangely opposed it from its being so customary in Asia, and our having inseparably connected the ideas of Asiatics and effeminacy. Mr. Bruce has ably defended the use of hot baths in tropical climates. This hummaum forms a part of the stone palace built by the late Nawaub, of which more will be said hereafter.

March 28.—I received presents of game, and some curious mountain birds, from his Excellency the Vizier. Almas the eunuch paid me a visit: he is held here in much consideration from the prominent part he has borne in politics; from having once held, as Aumil, above half the province of Oude: and from his consequently great riches. When Lord Wellesley was here, he was very anxious for the honour of a visit from his Excellency, who at length complied, in order to conciliate a person, whose vast pro-

perty still gave him a great influence in Oude. He was notorious for his rigid strictness in exacting his dues, and is supposed to have in his possession at least half a crore. We dined at Colonel Marshall's, who commands the detachment, and who entertains half his regiment every Monday, although now all allowances for table have been withdrawn by Government. I retired early, but as several ladies were there, they contrived to dance in despite of the heat.

March 29.—In the morning two elephants, with very handsome silver houdahs, were sent by the Nawaub to attend my orders. I was engaged to dine this day with his Excellency; Colonel Scott was to accompany me, and translate. I had determined to take the same opportunity of paying my visit to the Begum, his mother. About four o'clock, one of his sons arrived to attend me to the palace, and a younger one to pay the same compliment to Colonel Scott. We immediately set off, and joined suwarrys, as his house is close to Mr. Paul's. On our elephants we passed through the outer courts of the palace, and at length entered the garden of the zenana. His Highness, with his usual court, was waiting to receive us at a garden-house situated opposite to the zenana itself, between which extended a bason of water with fountains, the whole length of the garden. We were seated in a verandah, and the eunuchs passed to and fro, bringing polite messages from the old lady, with thanks for the compliment of the visit. The zenana was a handsome building, but had a most melancholy appearance from the wooden lattice-work on the outside of the windows. With her reside her virgin daughters, some of whom are upwards of forty years old, and their establishment of slaves. His Excellency here introduced his

youngest son, an immoderately fat, laughing boy, who first appeared with a message to me from his grandmother. He is his father's favourite. After sitting a proper time, presents, as usual, were produced, and I accepted two shawls from the old lady. We then walked close to the zenana, (probably that its inmates might have an opportunity of more closely examining the Lord Saheb,) towards a tent, where his Excellency occasionally sleeps, and from that to the palace, where he first received me. It is a very comfortable English gentleman's house, with suitable furniture, beds, prints, and chairs. He is his own architect, and really has considerable taste, though of course nothing can be more incorrect than many of the ornaments. He is highly gratified by any comparison between himself and the Prince of Wales. I took occasion to pay him a few compliments, which put him into excellent humour. He now presented me to all his sons, except the eldest, amounting to seven. There is a considerable family likeness. The absent one keeps in total seclusion. Mrs. —— and Mrs. —— came with their husbands. I confess that I think nothing can be so highly disgusting, as to see women mixing in society with Mahomedans, it is so contrary to the principles of the latter, who can only have a contempt for them, and consider them as on a level with the nautch girls. This was pretty plainly exemplified in the course of the day, for Mrs. —— having seated herself next the General, he drew back his chair, and desired she would not come so near to him. She had the impudence to ask him several questions about his wife, to which he only replied, by begging her not to talk so improperly. The party at dinner consisted of twenty-seven, sixteen of whom were Europeans. The dinner was French, with plenty of wine, of which, although the

Mussulmauns drank none, yet they had all the appearance of it, as the forbidden liquor was served in abundance on the table, and they had two glasses of different sizes standing before them. The room was very well lighted up, and a band of music (which the Nawaub had purchased from Colonel Morris) played English tunes during the whole time. The scene was so singular, and so contrary to all my ideas of Asiatic manners, that I could hardly persuade myself that the whole was not a masquerade. An English apartment, a band in English regimentals, playing English tunes; a room lighted by magnificent English girandoles, English tables, chairs, and looking glasses; an English service of plate; English knives, forks, spoons, wine glasses, decanters and cut glass vases—how could these convey any idea that we were seated in the court of an Asiatic Prince? The profusion of attendants was indeed of that country; and in no other would the guards and out-of-door servants have filled every door-way, and even crowded round the table. After dinner, the bottle passed freely for a short time: about eight we rose up to retire, and after the compliment of attar, were conducted to the head of the steps where our palanquins were waiting.

March 30.—I had paid his Excellency the Vizier the compliment of first visiting his own mother: this morning I accompanied Colonel Scott on a visit to the Begum of the late Nawaub. She resides in the zenana of his palace, a building going rapidly to decay, and without any beauty external or internal. We were admitted into the interior, where a small garden, with a bason of water and a summer-house, formed the only ornaments. I was received by her nephew, who is married to a daughter of the present Vizier. We were at a very small distance from her, but the

thick purdahs gave us no hopes of a peep. The usual messages were carried across by the eunuchs, and she informed Colonel Scott that she meant to proceed to Mecca, as soon as she had married some of her nephews and nieces. I however suspect the design will never be put into execution: she is rich, and is considered as under the protection of the English. Our suwarrys were not admitted into the garden; it was a high compliment that I was permitted to approach so near, for Colonel Scott informs me that a miserable room on the outside is the usual place of audience. Presents were tendered as at the Vizier's, and two shawls were taken. Wreaths of artificial flowers and foil were thrown around our necks.

Mr. Ouseley gave a dinner to me, at which his Excellency was present. He was in high spirits, and excessively civil to me; he said, that now visits of ceremony were over, he hoped we should be on the most intimate terms—that all he had hitherto done was in consequence of Lord Wellesley's wishes, notified to him by the Resident; but that now he should endeavour to prove to me that he could do much more out of personal regard. On taking leave, he put his hand into mine, and in that manner accompanied me to the door. On returning home, I found the old Begum had sent me a dinner, which at no time would be particularly good, and of course was not much mended by waiting three hours. My servants were well pleased at getting it; her people were equally satisfied with twelve rupees for bringing it. The General sent ninety-six rupees to be distributed among my servants, and the Begum twenty for the same purpose. According to the custom of the country, my own servant, as my head domestic, might have appropriated to himself

forty of these; but to his credit he declined any part, saying, he supposed it was meant only for the native servants.

March 31.—The Prince Mirza Soolimaun Shekoo had fixed on this day to receive my visit. He is the third son of the King, and quitted Delhi in hopes of being provided for, as his elder brother had been. He is allowed 6000 rupees per month by the Nawaub Vizier, a sum which is fully adequate to supply his wants, except that, occasionally, his Excellency suffers his pension, as well as those of his other dependents, to be very considerably in arrears. The Prince keeps up as much state as possible, and even treats the Nawaub as he would treat him if he were on the throne of Delhi in the fulness of power, and the Vizier an actual slave. He receives the nazur from him whenever they meet on public occasions, without any inclination of the head, or salam in return. Last year he went out to meet his Excellency when returning from a hunting party in the hills. The Nawaub quitted his elephant, and advancing to that of the Prince, presented his nazur, which was taken by the mohout* and put into the houdah: he then returned without any further notice. A third son has made his appearance, but neither the Vizier nor the British recognize him, and he lives as a private man. The one who fled from Benares, as being implicated in Vizier Ali's conspiracy, lives a prisoner in Furuckabad. Attended by Colonel Scott and Mr. Salt, I arrived at the Prince's garden-gate about ten o'clock. The place is small, and the house faces the entrance. In front of it a large awning was spread: the floor was covered with white linen, upon which chairs were placed. On our entering the

* The driver, who being seated on the neck of the elephant, is much nearer the ground than the person in the houdah.

gate he advanced from the house: we made our salams, and met him a little in front of the chairs. He embraced me, and we proceeded to the chairs. Colonel Scott and I presented nazurs of four gold mohurs each, and Mr. Salt, of two. He had three children with him, to each of whom we all presented a nazur of a mohur. His countenance is fine, and expressive of much greater abilities, and a more cultivated understanding, than were displayed in the appearance of either of his nephews; his manners more stately, but polished. He looked the Prince, and nothing in his behaviour disgraced his royal descent. Our visit was as short as propriety would admit. The khelaut and turban were presented in trays, and of course accepted. We presented additional nazurs of half the value given on our entrance, and, receiving attar, retired. He did not think proper to rise from his chair, in consequence of which I gave him no salam on departure. Colonel Scott, his secretary, and Mr. Salt, received shawls thrown over their shoulders.

April 1.—At half after five Mr. Salt and I set off on elephants to visit the Nawaub at one of his country seats, situated about three miles beyond the palace. We arrived there in a little more than an hour, and found his Excellency waiting for us. It is called Baroun, and was built by himself after a plan of his own. The architecture is an imitation of Grecian, with many faults, yet a very fine portico, rising the whole height of the house, gives a considerable degree of grandeur to the front. It is a vast pile, but contains only one large room on each floor. The furniture is European, and the walls are ornamented with portraits of his English friends, and the different Generals who have visited this place. His Excellency was dressed in boots and nankeen breeches, with a

long riding coat of velvet. On the roof is erected a range of small rooms, which occasionally serves as a zenana, being surrounded by a high parapet wall. It is hardly finished, and has not yet been inhabited. We all returned to the palace on our elephants. The crowd of beggars was prodigious, to whom he very sparingly threw rupees. Two very singular vehicles were in waiting for me to examine. They were both on wheels, somewhat resembling large elephant houdahs, with coverings, and drawn by those animals. They went at a considerable rate, though one was as large as a small room. I believe it is the first time elephants have been used in India for draught: artillery they only push along with their trunks. Lord Wellesley has had models sent down, in hopes of applying the idea to a military purpose.

April 2.—I breakfasted with Almas, who entertained us with a nautch and mimics: with the latter I was amused, and found it impossible not to laugh immoderately. They enacted a kind of play or tale. A young fellow is giving way to all kinds of debauchery with a party of nautch-girls, when his uncle, a religious man, pays him a visit. The manner of his behaviour when his uncle is present, and when his back is turned, forms the chief business: at length he gets quite drunk, and beats his uncle out of the house. The chief fellow had an admirable command of countenance, and went through his part with great effect. The usual presents were tendered to me, Colonel Scott, Mr. Salt, and a young officer who accompanied us. We took each a pair of shawls, and returned home early. To-morrow will be the festival of the Eed; in consequence, I received a present of ten goats from the Prince, to whose servant I gave ten rupees. The Nawaub sent twenty-one for me, and seven for

Mr. Salt. The Begum sent some also; and late at night, an eunuch arrived with fifty more: as he was a respectable servant, he was presented with a pair of shawls. In the course of the day a message arrived from his Excellency, through Colonel Scott, inviting me to the festival, and informing me that as this is a day of ceremony, his son would attend to conduct me early in the morning.

April 3.—I was up by four in order to be ready for the Prince, who did not make his appearance till near six. Mr. Grant mounted my elephant with me: we joined Colonel Scott, and all set off together for the palace, where his Excellency was waiting our arrival to commence the procession. After paying our compliments to him, he mounted his elephant, with a covered houdah, his youngest son but one, as usual, sitting behind him. Colonel Scott and I flanked him, leaving him a little forward. We now quitted the palace, but at the slowest of possible paces. First went a party of his troops; then a very fine display of hundreds of state palanquins more like houdahs, borne by men, composed of looking-glass pannels, covered with gilding and paintings of flowers. There were others of the usual shape: these were uncommonly rich, and shone finely in the sun. Next went a collection of singers, and players on different instruments, making a most horrible uproar. Then the Nawaub, supported on each side by Colonel Scott and myself. After us our secretaries, the different officers of his court, and numerous other natives on their elephants. As each joined the procession, his elephant went down on his knees to the Nawaub, and the master rose up and made his salam. Behind all were his Excellency's spare elephants, with open and covered houdahs of different degrees of splendor. Soldiers bearing flags mixed with the crowd in every

direction. The Nawaub threw money among the people as we passed through the town, and I could not but admire the generous care of the elephants, who cautiously* avoided injuring any of the people, who were scrambling for the money absolutely under their feet. Without adding to our speed, we passed on till we arrived at the large plain in front of the palace of Baroun. Here we quitted the road, and found his Excellency's spare camels, horses, &c. drawn up on each side with their attendants. The horses were painted of every colour, which produced a whimsical effect. Next were drawn up the Candahar horse, and the other soldiers in his Excellency's pay; and lastly, the whole of the two battalions of the 10th regiment were drawn up on the left, close to the tents, and saluted with presented arms and lowering of colours, as the Vizier passed the line.

We alighted in front of a very large tent of white linen, the ground being covered with the same material, where the Mahomedans all repaired to pray. The English, with all the officers of the battalion, entered a large tent on one side, where breakfast was set out for the whole party. In about ten minutes notice was sent to me, as I had previously requested, that the sacrifice of the camel was going to commence. I immediately hastened into a small inclosure, where I found a very fine young camel without blemish,

* There was a remarkable instance of the sagacity of the elephant upon Lord Wellesley's entrance into Lucknow. From the pressure of those in the rear, two of the first elephants were irresistibly pushed forward upon the crowd of people collected to view the spectacle, and to gather up the rupees distributed by Lord Wellesley and the Vizier. The animals, finding that they could not resist the pressure, regularly removed with their probosces the people, whom they must otherwise have been obliged to trample upon.

and a Cape ram painted red, also without blemish. Close to the latter a hole was dug in the ground, over which he was laid, and his throat cut. The camel must be killed by the chief in person, or by some holy man in his presence. The latter was now the case. The animal was bound by cords round his feet to the ground, and his head raised by a rope attached to a pole. A sharp spear of steel was the weapon, with which the priest twice attempted, in vain, to wound the artery in the breast: the third time he succeeded, and the camel soon bled to death. I enquired the cause of this festival, and was informed that it was in commemoration of the preservation of Ishmael in the desert, and the substitution of a ram for Isaac. We now adjourned to the breakfast tent, where every thing was provided, and where a portion of the camel and ram soon made its appearance. The flesh of the former was very sweet, and I should have liked it much had it been more tender. His Excellency ordered a part of it to be sent home to me. The day was now far advanced, and I dreaded the heat in returning home; from this fear, however, I was soon relieved by his Excellency's information that he had ordered his cuss palanquin * to be in waiting for me, and begged I would use it. I was highly flattered by this little attention, which showed his wish to oblige me much more than a thousand ceremonial honours could have done. I accepted it with thanks, and a fellow running by my side with water kept the cuss so wet that I arrived at the palace as cool as if I had passed three miles in England, whilst an inner lining of linen prevented me from being touched by the water.

* The long fibrous and sweet-scented roots of a grass, which are formed into the covering of the palanquin, and the water thrown on them.

We were conducted to the palace, where the Nawaub held a durbar, seated in state on his musnud, which was handsomely covered with silver plates, with ornaments of gold. Over his head was a canopy of velvet richly embroidered, and supported by four light silver pillars to match the musnud. On his right hand were seated the English gentlemen; on his left, his sons and brothers; the different courtiers, eunuchs, &c. stood behind and in front. He was dressed perfectly plain. As soon as he mounted the musnud, his family and servants began to present their nazurs. First, his brothers made theirs; next his sons: from all these he received the nazur himself, embraced them, and with his own hands put on their heads turbans ornamented with jewels. They were then clothed with khelauts by his chief eunuch, and afterwards he himself presented them with the shawls, belts, swords, shields, and daggers. They then presented another nazur, made their bow, and retired to their seats. From some of the others he made a servant take the nazur, and gave them nothing. Others he embraced, and took it himself, giving them dresses of different values, but not always putting on the turban, or any part himself. The artists brought specimens of their works. The General must have been nearly melted, as he received two entire dresses, all of which, except the turbans, he continued to wear at the same time. Think what he must have suffered with two shields, two swords suspended by large belts, two daggers, four robes, and four shawls thrown over his shoulders in such an excessively hot day! His Excellency was in high good humour, but said he would delay receiving the nazurs of the inferior people till evening, that he might no longer detain us in the heat. He took me to see a small temple he had built in the gardens, over a bason for gold and silver fish.

It was circular, and adorned with paintings, in compartments, of the most beautiful fish, copied from a French work. After taking a proper leave, I adjourned to the hummaum, to wash off the dust of the day.

April 4.—The Begum of Asof-ud-Dowlah sent me large quantities of pilaus, &c. in consequence of the marriage of some of her family. I gave five rupees to her servants, and the food to my domestics.

April 10.—I breakfasted with his Excellency, and afterwards went to see his menagerie. The birds were few, and not curious. A great number of different goats were assembled, and most fantastically painted. A few deer of the country, a tiger, tiger-cat, and rhinoceros, were also there; but the most interesting sight was several goats from Cashmere. The Nawaub has tried to procure the breed, but without success. The Cashmerians will only send him down castrated males. The fine wool, from which the shawls are made, grows only in very small quantities under the hair in winter. It is an additional protection granted to them by Providence in the mountains. Probably were they removed to the level country of Oude, the quantity would be so much diminished as to answer no purpose. I could discover very little on those in his Excellency's possession. The number of attendants was very great.

April 16.—Early in the morning I went to one of his Excellency's gardens beyond the palace, one side of which was close to the Goomty. In a pavilion erected by his brother, and now nearly in decay, breakfast was prepared for us, and a large party. From this spot we had a full view of the opposite side of the river, where the elephants are usually watered. The amusement of the day was to

be a fight of these huge animals. The plain was crowded with spectators, and with a body of foot, and cavalry armed with spears. The elephants chosen were in must,* and attended each by their female, whom they followed quietly till they saw the crowd. They then set off at a very quick pace, and would easily have overtaken the people on foot, had not their attention been called off by the horsemen, who rode up so close to them as sometimes even to touch them with their spears. The elephant thus touched instantly turned his resentment against the horseman, whom, however, he pursued in vain. The instant he caught a sight of his antagonist, he rushed forward to meet him; and the shock was so violent as generally to raise one of them on his hind feet. Their trunks were elevated in the air, and they continued to push against each other for some time; one generally receding, as the other advanced. I was surprised that the mohouts were able to keep their seats.† They seemed anxious for the glory of their animals, encouraged them, and drove them on with their sharp iron spears. After it was thought that a pair had fought sufficiently, they were allured off the ground by their females, who were indeed the cause of all this warfare. The first pair were cowards, and ran away: the second and third behaved very well; but the fourth gave us the greatest amusement. The strongest drove the other into the river, where he followed him. They threw water against each other, and made several attacks. The weakest, however, when he came to the opposite bank, retreating still backwards, found the elevation of ground assist him so much, that he made a stand, and prevented

* Heat.

† On these occasions they sit on the centre of the animal's back, to be out of the reach of the trunk of the adverse elephant.

the other from advancing. For some time they continued looking at each other, till the mohout of the weaker drove his elephant into the middle of the stream, where they had a last struggle, in which the victory was undecided. It was considered as a very admirable fight, and certainly was a scene well worth seeing once, but not oftener. There was no variety, nor was any skill shewn in their attack: it was mere brutal force; and the only visible injury was the excoriation of their faces. From the elevated summer-house we had an excellent view of the whole without any danger; fortunately, indeed singularly so, no accident happened.

April 17.—Early in the morning I went to view the Ina Khanah, where are deposited a part of the whimsical curiosities purchased by the late Vizier Asof-ud-Dowlah, consisting of several thousand English prints framed and glazed, Chinese drawings and ornaments, mirrors of all shapes and sizes, lustres, and innumerable other articles of European manufacture. The clocks are the most valuable part of the collection, several of them being richly ornamented with jewels. Asof-ud-Dowlah was anxious to procure every thing that was singular, or that he heard praised; the price was to him of no consequence; and the imbecility of his mind rendered him a dupe of those who, like General Martin, placed no bounds to their extortions. One of his objects was more worthy of a sovereign, which was to render his capital an object of admiration. For this purpose, he always inquired after what was considered as splendid in other countries. When one of his ministers returned from Calcutta, he asked him what was the finest work he had seen there; and, on being told that it was Fort William, he immediately insisted on having a Fort William built at Lucknow. It was with great difficulty he could

be induced to abandon his plan, on a representation of its inutility, and great expense. The Rumi Derwázah was built after, as he supposed, one of the gates of Constantinople, though it is of that light, elegant, but fantastic architecture, which has some little resemblance to the Gothic and Morisco, but none to the Grecian. The Imaumbarah, the mosque attached to it, and the gateways that lead to it, are beautiful specimens of this architecture. From the brilliant white of the composition, and the minute delicacy of the workmanship, an enthusiast might suppose that Genii had been the artificers. The vast sums expended by Asof-ud-Dowlah brought to Lucknow merchants of large property from all parts of India, and the trade between Cashmere and Bengal in a considerable degree took the same direction. The town rapidly increased in extent and prosperity; and even now, when trade receives less encouragement under Saadut Ali, it does not visibly decline.

April 22.—My boats arrived from Calcutta with my heavy baggage, having had a very favourable voyage for this season. They left Calcutta on the 22d of February. All my servants and my Dewan Gopinaut had previously arrived, so that I now found myself completely settled. The whole town has this day assumed a melancholy appearance, as it is the eve of the Moharam, a festival of ten day's duration, most religiously kept by the followers of Ali, in commemoration of the death of Hassan and Hossein, on which occasion they change their coloured turbans and sashes for black ones, unless intitled to wear green, as descendants of Mahomed. The present Nawaub, as a Persian, is of the sect of Ali, or a Shiite. So are most of the Mahomedans in India, except the Royal Family, who, as Tartars, are Soonies. Every prince has a place appropriated to

the celebration, adorned with numerous lamps, &c. This is called the Imaumbarah. In it are placed the supposed tombs of these young men, made of different materials, according to the respective wealth of the owner. The nobles also at their own houses have similar festivals. The late Nawaub kept it with great splendor, sometimes expending a lac of rupees on the occasion. Saadut Ali is more economical, and even melted down several ornaments used for the occasion, made of silver and gold: one or two of them produced a lac each in bullion.

May 1.—The Moharam is now over, and I several times visited the Imaumbarah on the occasion. On the last day I met the procession of mourners attending the supposed horse of Hossein, which is represented as pierced on every side by arrows. Mussulmaun prejudices are now so weakened in India, that the procession was stopped at my request, and, that I might view the horse with more facility, he was brought close to my palanquin. The Imaumbarah is certainly the most beautiful building I have seen in India; it was erected by the late Nawaub, for the double purpose of celebrating this festival, and of serving as a burial place for himself. It consists of three very long and finely proportioned apartments, running parallel to each other: in the middle one is his tomb, level with the ground. The centre is earth, covered with a scanty herbage, and surrounded with a broad margin of white marble, in which sentences from the Koran are inlaid in black. At one end lies the sword, turban, &c. which he had on when he died. Over it is a rich canopy supported by four pillars, covered with cloth of gold, now in decay. Unfortunately, it was necessary to place his tomb diagonally, that he might lie in a proper Mahomedan position

respecting Mecca ; and, consequently, instead of an ornament it is an unsightly object. He left one hundred rupees per day to forty fakirs to read the Koran, and pray for him ; but this, the present Nawaub thought extravagant ; and, observing that their father had but five, has reduced the number from forty to ten. The approach to the building is through a very large quadrangle to a garden, elevated a small height ; on one side of which is a very beautiful mosque, and on the other the Bolee palace. The Imaumbarah itself is built on an elevated terrace, which on this occasion gave still more splendor to the innumerable lights placed upon it ; yet even these could not diminish the effect of the thousands of girandoles, filled with wax-candles, which were suspended from the roof at different heights, and were reflected by the different coloured cut glass, which composed them. The floor was covered with candles, likewise in glass branches, leaving only sufficient space for the crowd to pass. The third apartment was filled from one end to the other with a range of silver temples or cenotaphs, raised on platforms about three feet from the ground, in which were placed the supposed tombs of the two brothers. These were brilliantly illuminated, both from the ceiling, and by candles placed around in branches. I think they were at least twenty in number, and were worth from 50,000 to a lac of rupees each. In different parts of the building prayers were said ; and every evening all unbelievers, and followers of Omar, Othman, and Abubeker were anathematised, to the edification of the Hindoos, who, on this occasion, crowded there in great numbers. Disturbances have frequently taken place ; but as far as I can learn, this Moharam passed quietly, and without the loss of a life.*

* For an account of the origin and purpose of the structures called Imaumbarah, see Appendix.

May 27.—I breakfasted with the Nawaub in order to be present at a tiger fight. A space of about fifty feet square had been fenced off on the plain, between the Dowlat Khanah and the river, in front of the Sungi Baraderi, a building open in the Asiatic style, raised about twenty feet from the ground, and which is occasionally used as a breakfast or banqueting room. It formed one side of the square already mentioned, and was covered with a lattice work of bamboos several feet high, lest the tiger, by a violent spring, should make his way amongst us, a circumstance that, on a former occasion, nearly occurred. On the three other sides was a lattice work of bamboos, sustained by very strong pillars of timber driven firmly into the ground, perfectly securing the crowd on the outside from danger. The tiger was in a small cage on the side, from which he was driven by fire-works. He took several turns round the area, and eyed us most accurately. A buffalo was now driven in, on which he quickly retired to one corner: the other watched him, but did not seem inclined to commence the attack. By fire-works the tiger was several times obliged to move, when the buffalo invariably advanced a little towards him; but, on his lying down, stopped and eyed him for some time. Seven other buffaloes were now introduced, but with all our excitements we could not induce either party to commence the attack. A dog was thrown into the area by some one. He retreated into a corner, into which the tiger also was soon driven by the fire-works; but, on the little animal's snarling at him, he quickly retired to another corner. The Nawaub then sent for an elephant. The first approach of this beast caused the tiger to give a cry of terror, and to run into a corner, where by a spring he attempted to leap over the fence. In this he failed; and the elephant approaching

by direction of his rider attempted to throw himself on his knees on the tiger. This the latter avoided, and immediately ran to another place. All the exertions of the mohout could not induce the elephant to make a second attack; but advancing to the gate, he began to push against it, and soon made his way good. The tiger did not attempt to take advantage of the opening, but lay panting in a corner. A second elephant was now introduced, who immediately rushed towards the tiger, and made a kneel at him. The tiger, however, sprang on his forehead, where he fixed by his teeth and claws, till the animal, raising his head, with a violent jerk, dashed him on the ground, so completely bruised, that he was not able to rise. The elephant did not choose to stay to complete his victory; but rushing against the side of the enclosure, with his tusks raised up the whole frame work of timber and bamboos, with a great number of people hanging on it. The alarm was great, and they scrambled off as soon as possible. The elephant made his way through, fortunately hurting no one; and the tiger was too much exhausted to follow. The sun was now far advanced, and the heat so considerable, that the fight was adjourned *sine die*.

May 31.—This has been one of the most extraordinary seasons ever known. Usually the north-westers set in early in May, and continue to cool the air by their frequent recurrence; in the course of ten years there has never been a May without them. Yet till this day we have not had a single shower since my arrival. This evening, the heat being very oppressive, I was sitting in my apartment on the terrace-roof of the house, when a sudden gloom and distant thunder induced me to go out on the terrace. The wind, which had been easterly, was now perfectly lulled. A very dark

blue cloud arose from the west, and at length covered half the sky. The thunder was not loud, and the air was perfectly still. The birds were flying very high, and making a terrible screaming. At length a dark brown cloud appeared on the western horizon, and came on with considerable rapidity. The whole town of Lucknow, with its numerous minars, was between me and the cloud, and the elevation of my terrace gave me an excellent opportunity of observing it. When at about the distance of a mile, it had all the appearance of a smoke from a vast fire, volume rolling over volume in wild confusion, at the same time raising itself high in the air. As it approached, it had a dingy red appearance; and by concealing the most distant minars from my view, convinced me that it was sand borne along by a whirlwind. The air with us continued perfectly still; the clouds of sand had a defined exterior; nor did the wind a moment precede it. It came on with a rushing sound, and at length reached us with such violence, as to oblige me to take shelter in my eastern verandah. Even there the dust was driven with a force that prevented me from keeping my eyes open. The darkness became every moment greater, and at length it was black as night. It might well be called palpable darkness; for the wind now changing a little to the southward, brought on the storm with ten fold violence, and nearly smothered us with dust. It blew so violently, that the noise of the thunder was frequently drowned by the whistling of the wind in the trees and buildings. The total darkness lasted about ten minutes; when at length it gradually gave way to a terrifically red, but dingy light, which I, at first, attributed to a fire in the town. The rain now poured down in torrents, and the wind changed to due south. In about an hour from its com-

mencement the sky began to clear, the tufaun went off to the eastward, and the wind immediately returned to that quarter. The air was perfectly cool, and free from dust. Although all my windows and doors had been kept closed, and there were tattys on the outside, yet the sand was so penetrating, that it had covered my bed and furniture with a complete coat of dust. Mr. Paul tells me, he once was caught in a north-wester on the banks of the Ganges, when the darkness lasted for several hours. This, however, was one of the most tremendous that had ever been beheld at Lucknow. One person was literally frightened to death. There is, indeed, no danger from the storm itself, but the fires in the houses are in such situations that a blast might easily drive a spark against their thatched roofs, heated already by the sun; in which case, the darkness would probably preclude the possibility of saving any part of the town. It is equally probable that a roof may be blown in, which would have the same melancholy consequences. The long drought had pulverised so much of the country, and so completely annihilated vegetation on the sandy plains, that the tufaun brought with it more sand than usual; and to that alone must be attributed the perfect darkness. It was the most magnificent and awful sight I ever beheld; not even excepting a storm at sea. The wind in both cases was of equal violence, but neither the billows of the ocean, nor the sense of danger, affected my mind so much as this unnatural darkness.

June 3.—I went out to dine at Constantia, once the residence of General Martin. It is a strange fantastical building of every species of architecture, and adorned with minute stucco fret-work, enormous red lions with lamps instead of eyes, Chinese mandarins and

ladies with shaking heads, and all the gods and goddesses of the heathen mythology.* It has a handsome effect at a distance, from a lofty tower in the centre with four turrets; but on a nearer approach, the wretched taste of the ornaments only excites contempt. A more extraordinary combination of Gothic towers, and Grecian pilasters, I believe, was never before devised. Within, the hall is very fine, but the other apartments are small and gloomy, loaded with stucco-work painted yellow, to imitate gilding. It is not yet finished, but by his will he has directed that it shall be completed according to his own plan. He bequeathed it to the public as a serai, every stranger being permitted to take up his residence there for two months. As yet this has been no advantage to any one; his executors having been more employed in defending his property against the numerous claimants that have started up, than in carrying this part of his will into effect.

A more infamous or despicable character than the late General Martin never existed. He had not a single virtue, though he laboured to assume the appearance of several. He took the female orphan children of two of his friends, declaring that he would educate and provide for them both; but when they reached the age of twelve, they unwillingly became his concubines. His death was supposed to be the consequence of the perpetration of this last crime. Another child he promised to educate, and actually sent to England, and during his life he had the credit of having done a generous action; but on his death, every item that he had expended was found in his accounts debited to the father, with an especial order to his executors to recover the whole. His

* Many of these have been demolished, and most of them injured, by the earthquake of the 1st of September.

fortune was raised by fraud and usury to upwards of two hundred thousand pounds, independent of houses; yet with affluence to which he had never been brought up, and which, of course, he knew not how to enjoy, he never did a generous act, and never had a friend. His dependents, who had faithfully served him through life, he left to poverty at his death. To his brother, who came out hither, he liberally gave fifty rupees per month, saying, with a curse, " Let him work for his bread, as I have done!" In an account of his life which I have seen, it is said that he made a great deal of money by securing the property of the natives in troublesome times, on their paying him twelve per cent. The fact is, that he opened a regular pawnbroker's shop, where he advanced twelve per cent. on any goods or jewels, the people having a right to redeem them within the year by paying twenty-four per cent.; but if that was not done, he kept them for ever; and this very frequently happened; sometimes even by his own management in keeping out of the way towards the end of the period; so that his debtors, if capable and willing, had no means of redeeming their pledges. The late Nawaub's idiotical propensities were another fruitful source of profit to him; he purchased different articles in Europe, and sold them at 100*l.* 200*l.* or 500*l.* per cent. lending him at the same time money to pay himself at 3*l.* per cent. per month. In this branch of his profit I am sorry to say that many English, resident at Lucknow, deeply participated. General Martin certainly loved his money dearly, but he loved fame still more, and at an immense expense he laboured to acquire it. From this idea he built the vast habitations in this neighbourhood, and finished them in the most expensive manner; and from the same idea, the mass of his property is

bequeathed to charitable purposes. Fame he may probably obtain, but it is a species of fame that no good man would desire; and, if he is handed down to posterity, as a man who raised himself to riches and power from the condition of a private soldier, it will also be added, that his riches were contaminated by the methods employed in obtaining them, and that his character was stained by almost every vice that can disgrace human nature. The present visit was to a Mr. Quiros, a Portuguese native, who having acted as clerk to the late General, was by him left one of the executors to his will, by which he has thriven well, and is now becoming a man of considerable property.

After dinner several of us visited the General's tomb, which is down stairs in the centre of the house. It is a plain marble slab, relating that he came out to India a private soldier, and died a Major-General; and though he nominally died a Protestant, yet by his special directions, the spectators are in the last line requested to pray for his soul. The tomb is placed in an arched vault, the approach to which is by a circular room of larger dimensions. There are two other similar vaults, one on each side. His apartment faces the entrance, and the four doors answer to each other. On a niche over the tablet is placed his bust, which is said to be like, though he himself never was pleased with it. Mr. Quiros, to show his taste, has placed there, in niches, four paper grenadiers, with reversed arms, leaning over the tomb. Constantia cost seven lacks of rupees; the furniture was mostly sold: the girandoles and mirrors were bought for the new Government-house in Calcutta. To the house is annexed a very noble garden, and extensive mango tope. The country around is a barren sand, and dead flat. Indeed the General

could not have pitched on an uglier spot in the vicinity of Lucknow. His house nearer town is in many respects pleasanter than Constantia. The room that overhangs the river, and the other built by its side, are admirably adapted for the hot winds. It is impossible to suffer from heat, while you continue squatted like a toad, in one of those little cellars. The caprice of iron doors, massive stone walls, and narrow winding staircases, with drawbridges and battlements, give this house much the appearance of the castle in Blue Beard. The expense of it was three or four lacs. Mr. Quiros bought it at the sale for about 40,000 rupees; he bid against the Nawaub, who has since made him sincerely repent it, by taking from him different leases, and persecuting him on every occasion. He now wishes to dispose of it to him as a peace-offering, and a treaty for the sale is actually going on. It has a very commodious zenana annexed, and is therefore a desirable country residence for his Excellency. At all his numerous garden-houses he has no separate habitation for his women. He is consequently obliged, when at any of them, either to give up their society, or to seclude himself totally with them.

June 4.—The King's birth day was ushered in by a royal salute fired before the Resident's house. His Excellency the Nawaub and family met the gentlemen of the settlement, and officers of the regiment quartered here, at Colonel Scott's; we were afterwards much edified by a nautch and fireworks, according to immemorial custom. On this occasion presents were made to the Nawaub and his son the minister, in the name of the Company.

July 1.—His Excellency some days ago concluded his purchase of the house of the late General Martin. He was so much pleased on

the occasion, that he determined to give two dinners, which comprehended the whole European party at Lucknow; accordingly we this day dined with him, as did every body except the bachelor officers of the guard, who attended the next day. He was in excellent spirits, and the air being rather cool, we beheld the fire-works from the verandah over the river in great comfort. They had little merit, except the mortar rockets, which were beautiful. The water reflected the light, and added much to the effect.

July 6.—The rains set in at Calcutta on the 2d of June; they usually reach this place about sixteen days afterwards, but hitherto there has been no appearance of them. On the 5th of June we had a smaller tufaun; the dust had a perfect resemblance to an English fog. We have since had three very trifling ones, which for a time cooled the air. In the intermediate periods the heat was most oppressive, and last night it was almost insupportable.

July 9.—On the night of the 8th the rains set in, and continued for a considerable part of the 9th; they fell very heavy at times with thunder and lightning, but neither violent; the air was excessively damp. To-day the sky is perfectly clear, with a light breeze from the east. The temperature of the climate is similar to that of England in summer. The river, previously to the rains, was as low as ever; it can therefore have no connection with the snows of the hills.

July 18.—The season is to me pleasant. It is occasionally close, but the rains cool the air, and render it by no means oppressive. They do not fall in incessant torrents, as we experienced in passing the line; but, generally, only in showers of an hour's continuance, and that most frequently in the night. I have suffered great inconve-

nience from the prickly heat, which rendered even turning in bed unpleasant. It resembles the sufferings in scrambling through a furze brake, and the pricking in that case is by no means worse than from the rash that covered me; the only consolation is, that it is considered as a proof of health. The natives use powdered sandal wood externally as a cure; it is very cooling, and I was therefore afraid to use it. I found relief myself by washing with lavender and rose water mixed; the rash is dried by this, but not repelled.

July 21.—As it was known in the country that I intended to visit Agra and Delhi, I received very polite invitations from General Perron and the Begum Somroo to stay some time with them on my way; but the changeable conduct of Scindiah made it doubtful from the first whether I should be able to accept their invitations. The die however was now cast; Lord Wellesley notified to me that he could not recommend to me to quit the Company's territories; and the augmentation of the regiments to the full establishment, and the march of the troops towards the frontiers, proved to me that his Excellency considered a war with Scindiah as certain. I was however permitted to go to Futty Ghur; and as the total want of police in the Nawaub's territories renders an escort necessary, his Excellency kindly sent orders that a company of sepoys and twenty horse should attend me on my journey. The rains had fallen so scantily that the roads were still passable. As it is an object to me to lose no time, and as a residence of four months has shown me all that Lucknow affords, I have determined to depart on the 26th: I notified this to his Highness the Nawaub, who kindly promised to supply me with a camp-equipage, and assured me that every thing should be ready. A very unexpected disappointment has occurred; Mr.

Salt has had a severe attack of a bilious fever, which has so completely reduced him, that his accompanying me is totally out of the question.

July 23.—Colonel Scott gave a public dinner to me previous to my departure from Lucknow. His Excellency the Nawaub Vizier, and most of his sons, met me there. It was a conclusion of the most uniform series of attentions that could possibly be shown to me during my residence there. He is an able and active man; his manners at first are cold and repulsive, but the coldness comes not from the heart, and on a friendly intercourse it totally disappears. The ability with which he executed the difficult task of arranging with the Vizier the treaty of ceding a part of his Excellency's territories, has been fully acknowledged by Lord Wellesley. The Vizier, I perceived, had an idea that the Colonel had always represented his conduct in the most unfavorable light to the Governor General, and continued so to do. I used my utmost endeavours to remove this unfounded prejudice from his mind, and I flatter myself that I left them much better friends than they had previously been.

July 24.—As it was a matter of indifference whether the formal leave of the Nawaub was taken in the morning or evening, I accepted his Excellency's invitation to dine with him this day. Accordingly, accompanied by Colonel Scott, we proceeded early to the Dowlat Khanah in the same state as when I paid him my visit on my arrival. The elephants and guards were paraded as usual, and he received us on the steps of the palace, whence we accompanied him to the garden of his mother's zenana. We were seated in the same garden-house as on the former visits. Compliments of

good wishes passed between me and the old lady through the medium of Meer Tussein. She tendered me the trays, shawls, &c. from which I chose two.

Our elephants were waiting at the gate, and the whole party went off for the Sungi Dalam, or stone palace, where his Highness meant to dine, in order to show me the manner in which it used to be adorned in his brother's time. It is, in my opinion, a very elegant building, perfectly in the Eastern style, open on all sides, and supported by pillars. It is, as the name designates, built of stone, but the whole is painted of a deep red colour, except the domes that cover the towers at the corner. These are gilt all over; the effect is extremely rich. The centre room is large; two narrower on each side make the shape of the whole building a square, with circular towers at the four corners. It is raised one story from the ground, and a large terrace connects it with a smaller but similar building. A most magnificent musnud of gold, covered with brocade and embroidered wreaths of roses, was placed at one end of the large apartment. We dined in the smaller, on one side, whence we had a view of the bason of water, which extends to the hummaum attached to the palace, where I used to bathe. The sides of the bason were covered with coloured lamps; and a complete trellis work of the same extended on each side of the walk. The overhanging trees were perfectly lightened by the glare, which was much increased by the reflection from the water. It was the splendour of the Caliph Haroun-ul-Rashid, as described in the Arabian Nights Entertainments, completely realised, and by no means inferior to the idea that my fancy had formed of it. The band was playing the whole time, and added much to the gaiety of

scene. The tunes were European, and formed a whimsical contrast with every thing else, which was truly Asiatic. After dinner we adjourned to the opposite building, through a lane of double silver branches, with attar placed on stands between each. Being seated at the extremity in a circle, a nautch was brought forward, to which we patiently attended for some time. His Excellency has no females that excel in that line. As it was my farewell visit, the trays of presents were produced as usual, and for form sake, I was pressed to accept them. This I declined, but took the pair of shawls: the jewels offered were handsome; the number of trays was seventeen.

July 25.—I called on his Excellency in the morning, to see some drawings of the different people who compose his establishment. There has not been time to finish them all, but such as were done he presented to me. A complete collection would be very interesting, and I have requested that they may be continued. His Excellency, with six of his sons, arrived at about seven o'clock to return my leave-taking visit. After dinner I tendered him twenty-one trays, and his son seventeen trays of the usual articles, which, after a little scruple, were accepted. He made many very polite speeches, and begged earnestly that he might hear of my welfare. After having presented him with attar, I took my leave with three cordial embraces.

It was not without feelings of regret that I took my final leave of his Highness Saadut Ali Khan, after a residence of four months at his capital, during which time I had constantly experienced the most flattering attentions from him. Every morning he sent me a supply of ice and fruit; and, as he found that I would not

accept the presents, that from my rank, he was bound to offer me on public occasions, he was perpetually trying to discover something which he conceived I might with propriety receive: he sent people into his woods to bring me rare birds and plants; he laid a dawk two hundred miles to bring them down to me in a state of perfection; and extended his kindness beyond my departure, by supplying me with the camp-equipage necessary for my journey to Furruckabad, and my return to Cawnpore. Saadut Ali is a man of most pleasing manners, and his appearance is dignified and princely, though his manner of life has made him too corpulent. His hair is now grey, and he has lost many of his teeth, but the fire and intelligence of his eye still lightens up his countenance. In conversation he is lively and entertaining, through the medium of such an excellent interpreter as Major Ouseley. Though ignorant of Persian myself, I was able to judge of this, and even sometimes of the delicate turn which he gave to the compliments paid to him. The language of the eyes is in great use at the courts of Asiatic princes, and by them they issue many orders. I one day understood a sign that his Highness made to a servant, and told him, through Major Ouseley, that his eyes spoke English: No, said he, yours understand Persian. Colonel Scott assured me, that his language was remarkably pure and elegant, and his mind well stored with Asiatic literature. He has certainly some knowledge of English, as he observed to me one day, that he did not know why my name was spelt with a T, when it was pronounced C. Possibly he wishes to conceal his knowledge, that he may hear the observations that are made more freely in his presence, from supposing him to be ignorant of the language.

Soon after his father's death, Saadut Ali quitted Lucknow, in consequence of his brother Asof-ud-Dowlah having suspected him of some connection with a person, Khoja Bassunt, who was said to have made an attempt upon his life, and who was immediatly cut to pieces in the Nawaub's presence, no proof being ever brought against Saadut Ali. His flight cannot justly be considered as such, for in an Asiatic court, the next heir may always consider a suspicion against him as equal to a sentence of death. The Bengal Government certainly believed him innocent, for they not only gave him protection, but at length procured for him a pension of forty thousand pounds from his brother. To his long residence amongst the English, may be traced many of his Highness's present pursuits, and his fondness for every thing European. His chief gratification seems to be building palaces of an architecture that resembles Grecian, but as he never employs an architect, the faults are numerous. In the portico at Baroun there is, however, something magnificent and surprising, as the design of an Asiatic Prince. His Highness has, I think, carried his European predilection too far in abandoning the forms of an Asiatic court, and living with Europeans as an equal. Colonel Scott would have regularly attended his durbar, to have given him consequence with his subjects; but this he declined, and requested that all business might be transacted by their breakfasting with each other. The lowest European gentleman seems to consider himself as on an equality with his Highness, and does not always treat him with that respect, which is his due. Latterly he seems to have felt this, and has contrived an ingenious plan to place every European at Lucknow in dependence on him. From the long period that a close connection has existed between

Oude and Bengal, a great number of houses have been built by the English along the banks of the Goomty, on ground granted by the Nawaub. These were private property, and were purchasable by any person without his Highness's consent. As the change of inhabitants is rapid, they have been on the market since his succession, and he has taken care to secure them all; so that if any future Governor-General should make it a point with him to receive a particular person, he can at any rate prevent his stay, by not granting him a house to live in.

Saadut Ali was by no means popular when he came to the musnud, and his rigid economy, not to give it a harsher name, has not diminished the dislike to him. He was so conscious of this, that he obliged the British troops to mount guard at his palace, and had centinels placed at the door of his chamber.

Tormented by these alarms, he at one time wished to retire from the cares of the Government, as the treasures of the family, which he would have taken with him, were sufficient to gratify his predominant passion; but the arrangement could not be made with the Governor-General as he wished, and he therefore continued in Oude. At present he seems to be more tranquil. The dismissal of his lawless bands, who were ready to join Vizier Ali against him, has removed a great part of his real danger; and the presence of a large British force at Lucknow, and in the different districts of his reserved territory, puts an end to any alarm from the dissatisfaction of the ryots at the extortions which his aumils exercise. He now moves about to his different palaces without a guard, and seems to enjoy his favourite sport, the chase, without any alloy. The dissatisfaction he might have experienced at the cession of a moiety of his territory,

is absorbed in the discovery, that he has more real revenue, and can add more to his treasure, than he did when he paid the East India Company one hundred and twenty lacs of rupees per annum. It is said that he actually accumulates from one to two lacs per week, and the treasures he received by inheritance cannot be less than two crore. If his Highness is satisfied with the arrangement, most certainly all the other parties must be so. The British have obtained an additional revenue, and a secure payment; the ryots have obtained security from the oppressive plunderings of the aumils, and the protection of the British laws, instead of being at the mercy of every robber. So conscious are they of these advantages, that the land which was rated to the Nawaub at a crore and thirty-five lacs, has been let at a crore and eighty lacs. An intermediate personage, the Zemindar, who, from a tenant, has been promoted by the fanciful generosity of the British into a land owner, may indeed be dissatisfied at being deprived of the power of doing harm: he cannot now rob the traveller, or oppress the ryot under him; nay, he is obliged to pay his rent, or submit to have his mud fortress levelled with the ground. But if these are evils to him, they are blessings to the large mass of the population, which, indeed, has ever been the consequence of the British Government in India, and I sincerely hope will ever continue to be so.

CHAPTER IV.

Departure from Lucknow.—Visit to the Ruins of Canouge.—Arrival at Futty Ghur.—Reception of the Nawaub of Furruckabad.—Visit returned.—Visit to General Lake on his march to the Frontier.—Return to Futty Ghur.—Journey to Cawnpore.—Embark on the Ganges.—Voyage down the River to Calcutta.

CHAPTER IV.

JULY 26.—It was only yesterday that I was able to get the Nawaub's tents pitched, when I discovered that there were not as many as I wanted by two. The rainy season is considered as the worst to travel in, and indeed, except by stages, it is almost impossible. For this a double set of tents is necessary. I requested from his Excellency two large sitting, and two sleeping tents for myself; two sleeping tents for the officer commanding the escort; and sixteen of inferior quality for my dewan, for cooking, and for the servants. The two for the officer, which were very necessary for his comfort, and consequently for my satisfaction, were wanting: I represented this to Major Ouseley, and he assured me I should have them. All of them are carried on hackerys,* covered with a thatch of reeds, each drawn by four bullocks, with proper servants to pitch them and to take them down: these form a separate department under a head frosh. We had also from his Excellency two additional houdah elephants, and one other to carry our baggage.

My escort consists of a company of the 10th native regiment, commanded by a young officer of the name of Webb, for whom I applied in consequence of the recommendation of several of my friends. Twenty horse are to meet me at Canouge. My whole travelling establishment is as follows, and will give an idea of the mode in which journeys are performed in this country:

* A kind of cart.

My own servant, and Gopinath.
39 bearers.
16 jemmadars, hircarrahs, &c.
6 kijmutgars.
2 seises.
16 for cooking and taking care of sheep, &c.
50 of his Excellency's servants with the tents and hakerys.
10 with the elephants.
14 bearers of Mr. Webb, and other servants.
14 servants of Gopinath, and bearers.
120 sepoys and followers.

287 Total.

I took a friendly leave of Colonel Scott, and after an early dinner set off on an elephant for Futty Gunge, distant from Lucknow about five coss, or ten miles. Mr. Webb occupied another, and my servant a third; the fourth was given up to my baggage and native servants. We got to our tents at Futty Gunge about seven o'clock, having passed through several wretched, half-deserted villages. Vizier Gunge consists only of the two gateways, and about three houses in the centre between them. It seems as if it had been built as an ornamental approach to Lucknow, a large avenue extending thither from it. It was never more than a single street. Futty Gunge itself is tolerably populous, built on the same plan; with a wall round it, but of trifling height, and the gates broken. The country through which we passed is perfectly flat, and sandy; now in many places covered with water, from a very heavy storm that fell just before we set out. We encamped half a mile beyond the town, on a flat, where puddles of water rendered the communication between one

tent and another very disagreeable. The night was very stormy; the rain fell in torrents; and the thunder and lightning prevented sleep for some time. The double tents kept us perfectly dry. The other half of our tents went on at night to Hossein Gunge, six coss and a half farther, that every thing might be ready for us in the morning. We had determined to set off at day-light, if the weather should permit; the sun being insupportable when unobscured.

July 27.—At half after five we were on our elephants, and in three hours got to Hossein Gunge. Our bearers, palanquins, escort, &c. arrived soon afterwards. Gopinath here joined us, and the promised tents, with two of Almas's sepoys, useful people, as he is Aumil of the country through which we go till we pass the Ganges. The extensive power of this eunuch, as Aumil of nearly half the province of Oude, was certainly a strong collateral justification of the demand of territory from the Nawaub Vizier, as the British forces employed in protecting Oude were, when in the field, dependent on his caprice for provisions. If he was inimical, he had it fully in his power to prevent any supplies from reaching them. The country was ill cultivated, flat, and sandy as usual. The villages were small and wretched, till we passed Mohaun, where there is a stone bridge over the nullah, and the appearance of its having anciently been of more consequence, the soil being filled, for a considerable distance, with a mixture of brick and lime. The village supplied our large party with every thing they wanted. We ourselves depended on no such contingency, having brought with us sheep, poultry, and every article we could want, except milk, which we were certain of obtaining every where.

The morning was fine, and we took advantage of it to perform

our day's journey; in this we were fortunate, as heavy storms afterwards passed over us almost every hour. Our last night's tents passed us about three o'clock, and proceeded to the next station. We dined about four o'clock, and afterwards rode till dark. We took our way through the village of Lootnee, (Anglicè, of Thieves,) a name which the inhabitants very well deserve; for in the night they contrived to steal into the tents of several of the officers belonging to a battalion that preceded us, and took from one his desk, and every article of clothing, to the amount of at least one thousand rupees; a very serious loss to a subaltern. The thief did this in defiance of the sentry, by crawling close to the back of the tent, and cutting a hole in the side sufficiently large to admit him. The night was fine, and I slept till awoke by the drum.

July 28.—By five we were on our elephants, and by eight reached Meah Gunge, distant nearly six coss. About half way we were met by a hircarrah of Almas, saying that he had orders to provide us with every thing which we wanted and I chose to order. He returned to give notice of my approach. In the middle of the town I was met by a nephew of Almas, who presented me a nazur of two rupees, five kids, a panier of fowls, some eggs, and plenty of firewood. All these were sent to our camp, with milk and kedjeree pots. His people refused to receive any thing, saying they had positive orders to the contrary, and that they should be severely punished if they were known to disobey. Not a drop of rain fell during our ride. Meah Gunge is the capital of Almas's district, and was built by himself: the outer wall is of mud, and incloses several large mango topes, and spots of cultivated ground; the inner wall is brick, not very high, with towers of the same at small distances. There are

holes in the parapet for musquetry. The gates are strong, and handsome; the street wide, and lined with trees. It seems populous, and in a thriving condition, forming a complete contrast to the wretched villages we have hitherto met with. After dinner we rode into the town, and visited Almas's house, and the three serais. The former is neat and large, with a garden in the centre; the latter are convenient. When the Vizier visited Almas at Meah Gunge, he received a nazur of a lac of rupees, piled up as a seat for him to sit on. His Excellency took care to take away the seat with him. The park of artillery here is in excellent order: there are forty pieces, some of large calibre, with ammunition waggons, and bullocks in abundance. The site of the town is a flat, but it has a small lake on two sides of it, which serves as a ditch. The vicinity is well cultivated, and altogether does credit to the master. It must indeed be observed, for the credit of Almas, that though he was a very strict, and even extorting Aumil, yet his people were the most prosperous of the Vizier's subjects, and his soldiers the best disciplined. We had frequent and heavy showers during the day, which rendered the air very pleasant. Fruit was sent us in the evening.

July 29.—We set off in the usual manner at the usual hour; and after travelling about twelve miles, came to our ground in three hours. Assewan is distant about a mile from Meah Gunge, and is more pleasantly situated on a slight elevation overlooking a small lake. It has been deserted for the latter place, and is mostly in ruins. Two of Mr. Grant's horsemen here met me from Futty Ghur with a letter, assuring me that every thing was ready, as I had requested, at the passage of the Cali Niti. The country continued the same uniform level. We encamped three miles beyond Tukeah,

that our next day's journey might be shorter. In the evening Mr. Webb and my servant went into the jungle to look for game: I accompanied them on horseback. They killed a fox and partridge, and saw some deer and peacocks.

July 30.—The night was very rainy, and continued so till ten o'clock in the morning, when we began our journey on the elephants. A small hollow, which had hardly the vestige of water in it the evening before, was now so deep as to render it necessary to transport our palanquins and pataras on the elephants; this caused a considerable delay. The sun darted out occasionally, and rendered the heat oppressive. The country was more pleasing, as we advanced, being better cultivated, and slightly undulated. Bangernow is prettily situated on a small rise, surrounded with mango topes, and a nullah running close to it. Aware of this, we had sent on the baggage-elephants, with our advance-tents. They still waited there, and carried over the rest of the luggage. This place also has the appearance of having formerly been more considerable than it now is. Every town we have passed is built of brick, with the ruins far more extensive than the habitable part. Numbers quitted these provinces to become cultivators in ours, encouraged by the protection which they were sure to receive, and many others have constantly entered our armies. The recruiting is so extremely difficult in Bengal and Bahar, that our armies could not be kept up, were it not for the supplies obtained from the Vizier's dominions, which is strong proof of the comfort the inhabitants of the East enjoy under the British Government.

We came to a nullah adjoining the Ganges about six o'clock, when it immediately began to rain again: it had held up during

our journey. We were opposite to the village of Manarow, which was perfectly visible, from being situated on a high bank, covered with trees. A servant and hircarrah of Almas has attended us thus far, and provided us with all necessaries. This being the boundary of his power, he took leave. A boat soon arrived from the Company's cutwal, with information that the boats should all be over in the morning. These belong to the Company, and have been busily employed for these two days in transporting Colonel Browne and the first battalion of the 4th regiment. He quitted Manarow only this morning, and to-morrow arrives at Canouge.

July 31:—The rain continued so heavy till eight o'clock, that I was obliged to abandon my intention of riding on horseback, and instead, to take four bearers from the pataras, and proceed in my palanquin for the twenty miles to Canouge. Accordingly, by ten o'clock our palanquins, beds, &c. were embarked, and we were towed up the nullah about three miles, which is only separated from the Ganges by an island. Our boat was a small one, and made good way: unfortunately our dandys chose to take a short cut through a nullah, where there was but very little water; we got through very well, but the boat in which were the palanquins, stuck fast at the mouth. We did not perceive this accident, and went on. We still continued tracking when in the main river, which was here about a mile wide, and extremely rapid, till we were about a mile and a half above the village. The dandys then took to their paddles, and keeping the beam to the current the whole way, contrived to land us at the destined gaut. Here we discovered the stoppage of the larger boat, and had the mortification

to perceive that the strength of an elephant was not sufficient to force it into the stream. We immediately sent back our own boat, with orders to bring the palanquin only; and the people on the opposite side very sensibly disembarking it on the shore, they met at about half way. This however caused a delay of an hour and a half, and it was past twelve before I actually set off with my thirteen bearers, to carry me at least twenty miles. The clouds cleared away, and my fellows gave evident symptoms of suffering from the heat; they however advanced tolerably well, at about four miles an hour. We occasionally passed baggage-carts of Colonel Browne's detachment, which were lagging behind, and gave me many fears for the delay of my own. We stopped at two or three tanks, and about six, began to be astonished at not reaching the encampment of Colonel Browne. We were still told it was a little farther on; my fellows were heartily tired, but there was no remedy, and full three miles farther we discovered the tents, where I arrived at seven, and found Colonel Browne at dinner. At nine no tents had arrived for me, but my bed had kept up with us. The Colonel offered me his little dining tent, which I accepted. My poor bearers, after all their fatigue, had no shelter; about three in the morning some rain fell, when they all contrived to crawl about me. The country was more pleasing this last day, from mango-topes and cultivation. The villages were more numerous, but I saw no town till I arrived at Meeraun-ka-Serai. It has a very fine serai, from whence its name, and the tomb of the founder situated in a garden on the opposite side of the road. It is distant twenty miles from Manarow.

August 1.—Lieutenant Turton, a Staffordshire young man,

whose family I knew, accepted my invitation to continue a day at Canouge, and afterwards accompany me to Futty Ghur, where the 4th regiment was to halt some days. The spot on which we now were, was too far from the town; we therefore set off on foot towards it to seek for one that was pleasanter. After walking a mile and a half, we found a collection of small hillocks, on which grew two very fine tamarind trees, about half a mile from the town, and on these we determined to take up our station. Our own tent was soon pitched, and the servants made their appearance by seven o'clock from Diapore, with the breakfast apparatus. Mr. Webb and his company soon followed. Last night twenty horse, with a native officer, came here to put themselves under my orders. They were sent by General Lake, to serve as an escort, when we were moving on elephants or on horseback; a work too laborious for the infantry. Their horses were small, but spirited, and the men were, in general, young and good looking, and being newly cloathed, made a very neat appearance.

The morning was overcast; I therefore ordered the horses, and, accompanied by Mr. Webb and Mr. Turton, visited the town of Canouge. It has at present but a single street, and that of no great appearance. The Ganges is distant about two miles; but a canal has been cut, which makes a bend towards the town, and brings the holy water close to the citadel. Six miles off, the mixture of small pieces of brick, and occasionally the vestiges of a building, proved to me that I had entered on the site of this ancient capital of Hindostan. Our first visit was to the tombs of two Mussulmaun saints, whose names I could not collect, but who lie in state under two mausoleums of equal size and handsome architecture, on an

elevation covered with trees. From the terrace which surrounds them I had a very pleasing view of the plain, covered with ruined temples and tombs, the nullah winding through it till it joins the Ganges two miles lower down. Tamarind trees and mango topes were scattered every where; and the whitened tomb of an English officer, who was drowned here, raised its pointed head amidst this scene of desolation. We were joined by a Brahmin, who produced certificates from several Englishmen, that he had been an attentive cicerone during their stay here: he was accordingly retained by us in the same capacity. On the inside of the tomb were inscribed several names and dates, with quotations not unappropriate. We next visited another tomb on the most lofty point. It consists of a quadrangle and mosque, similar, in miniature, to the one at Juanpore. Several pillars in the mosque are formed of two pieces, taken from a more ancient building, the rude base of one of which being placed uppermost, serves for a capital. A great many little images were lying under the trees, but they were too much broken to be interesting. In the centre was a well, now filled up, where, according to custom, large sums of money are said to be secreted. That this is the case is by no means improbable, as many things have been found in other wells that have been formerly cleaned out. The citadel has nothing to repay the fatigue of the ascent to it. No building of any consequence remains, and the brick-walls, which do not appear to be of great antiquity, are going rapidly to decay. The heat was now very great, and we were glad to return to our tent, in which at night, as the others had not arrived, we were obliged, all three, to sleep: our servants were better satisfied with the open air, as it continued perfectly fine. From the

Brahmin I procured a few of the coins which are found amongst the ruins. They are small, and irregularly shaped, with Sanscrit characters, and have occasionally a figure of a Hindoo deity on one side.

August 2.—At six our tents arrived, and Gopinath followed soon afterwards, having settled every thing for the passage of the river. The charge for bringing over our party, amounting in the whole to upwards of three hundred, besides horses, bullocks, and carts, was twenty-five rupees. The morning was clear, we therefore did not go out. My servant killed a young peacock and a brace of partridges. I purchased two old and curious mohurs from a shroff, at four rupees above their intrinsic value. The night was very close and sultry, and though I slept without musquito curtains, or any covering, yet could get but little rest on account of the heat.

August 3.—At a quarter before five we mounted our elephants, and, accompanied by the cavalry as an escort, proceeded to a small distance beyond Jelalabad, where our tents were pitched, and breakfast was prepared. It is distant ten miles from our last station, and we were two hours and a half on the way. We met some bangys, bearing mangoes from Furruckabad to the Nawaub Vizier, and plundered a few of them. The country through which we passed was well cultivated, and a little undulated, the soil an unmixed sand, except where the ruins of Canouge are visible, of which I could perceive no traces after the first two miles. From the spot we are in, a range of hills is seen to the north, covered with mango topes: the Foujdar* of the village and country around waited on me with a nazur of five rupees. He was a most respectable look-

* Military officer.

ing old man with a silver beard, and was said to be eighty years old. He left a hircarrah to provide for all our wants. Partridges and a deer were brought for sale; the latter was too lean to be worth any thing; the former were excellent. The cuckoo was heard in the day. In the evening we did not ride out, as there was nothing interesting round us.

August 4.—At half after four o'clock we mounted our horses, having sent on the elephants to wait for us on the other side of a river distant eight miles. We came to the Cali Nuddi at six, and found the boats, prepared by Mr. Grant, ready to convey us over. It is but a trifling stream even now. The town of Kodda Gunge, on the opposite side, has a good serai. Our elephants being over and ready, we proceeded two miles, to shorten the journey of to-morrow. The country was as flat as before, but more barren and sandy. The morning was cool: it became hotter in the day, as we had only occasional clouds, but the tents were rendered pleasant by a brisker breeze than usual. I wrote officially to Major-General Ware, who commands at Futty Ghur, notifying my intended arrival there on the morrow with my escort, and sent off my letter by a dragoon.

August 5.—Having, as before, sent on the elephants, but for the sake of show retained the suwarry, that they might be ready to enter the cantonment with me, at four o'clock we were on our way on horseback, attended by our escort of cavalry. I met a very polite answer from General Ware, assuring me that I might command his services. Soon afterwards the commander of my friend Mr. Grant's guard met me to show the way. About three miles from the town I found a sociable in waiting, into which I very willingly entered

with Mr. Turton, leaving the elephants, &c. to follow at a distance. We were rapidly conveyed along the lines, where the guards were turned out, and presented arms as we passed along, our cavalry preceding and following us. By seven I reached my friend Mr. Grant's, who is Judge of the district, where I met with that cordial reception which I had every reason to expect. Mr. Webb, by directions of Major-General Ware, pitched our tents close to the garden fence. The General did me the favour of a call immediately afterwards, as did a Staffordshire gentleman, Mr. Claude Russell, Agent here for the Governor-General, with whom I have every reason to be pleased.

August 9.—Imdaud Hossein Khan, Nawaub of Furruckabad, paid me a visit. Mr. Russell assisted me in receiving him. As the young man is by no means rich, he came with little parade. I received him with every attention in my power, having my escort under arms, who saluted him as he passed; he was also complimented with thirteen guns. The presents were twenty-one trays, a horse, and an elephant, amounting in the whole to about 4000 rupees. He is young, and has an expression of countenance by no means interesting. He succeeded to the musnud when a child, in consequence of the murder of his father, by his brother, a legitimate child by the present Begum, who herself was implicated in the crime. Poison was the means employed. The Nawaub of Oude, who, at that time, was the lord paramount of this province, immediately seized the parricide, who has been ever since a prisoner at Lucknow. The guardianship of the young Nawaub was intrusted to a regent, Kherrudmund Khan, his uncle; who, from the deformity of his person, and the gross manner in which he defrauded

his nephew, has acquired amongst the English the title of Richard the Third. He was suspected of wishing to carry the resemblance still farther; but as the Prince is still alive, we will suppose the suspicion was unmerited. The Prince is of a noble Patan family. On coming of age his income was but very small. He paid a paishcush, or tribute, to the Nawaub Vizier, of four lacs and a half; and, after other out-goings, he did not receive 60,000 rupees per annum. His uncle had secured to himself a much better income, during his regency, by grants in the name, and under the seal, of the former Nawaub, which he had the leisure and time to prepare. The paishcush having been ceded to us, with several provinces, by the Nawaub Vizier, the young man applied to Mr. Wellesley for protection against his uncle. This was granted; and the accounts were investigated, or rather supposed to be investigated, by Mr. Mercer. The regent refunded about 40,000 rupees, instead of at least a lac, and paid in a balance of 30,000 more. The state of the country was then most wretched: murders were so frequent at Furruckabad, that people dared not venture there after sun-set; and the workmen, who came out to the cantonments, always retired to their own houses during day-light. This was represented to the Nawaub by Mr. Wellesley in the strongest manner, and he was recommended to cede his country to the British, they covenanting to treat him with all possible respect, and to pay him the whole sum which they should receive after the expenses were defrayed. The real motive was to root out the multitude of robbers, who, from this rendezvous, plundered the whole country. He made slight objections, and seemed to fear that the residue would be so small that he should not be able to sustain his dignity. At length he

proposed, that we should completely take the country, and all responsibility, allowing him 9000 rupees per month, giving pensions to several of his people, and leaving him also some villages and lands. This, on the face of it, would be a loss to the Company, of at least a lac of rupees per annum; but Mr. Wellesley, with justice, considered the security of the trade of the river and neighbouring provinces as so important, that he complied with every request, and the treaty was signed on the 4th of June, 1802. The most active measures have since been used to render the country secure. On Mr. Grant's arrival, near one hundred Patans waited on him, and requested to know whether he really meant to have a police. He assured them most seriously that he did; in consequence of which they told him it would not suit them; and all immediately departed for the Mahratta country. Seventy persons are now in prison, to be tried for murder at the next circuit; but not one offence of that sort has been committed since our police has been established. I could with ease prove that every part of India has reason to rejoice in coming under the British controul, but I think the blessings to this province are incalculable. Nor have we been losers, as, on an accurate investigation, it was found that many places had been omitted in the former returns, and had consequently paid no revenue. The idea of security also, under our Government, operated in raising the value of lands, so that on letting them for three years we have a profit of nearly three lacs, instead of a loss of one, which, the first proposal to the Nawaub proves we really expected would be the case.

August 10.—Wishing to pay every possible attention to the young Nawaub, I returned his visit the next day, attended by Mr. Russell.

His habitation is within the walls of the old fort, whence is a very beautiful view of the Ganges and surrounding country. It is built on a considerable elevation, and had the fort been finished, would have been strong. His present residence is wretched, but he has nearly finished a new one, that commands the whole country. We next paid our compliments to the old Begum, who lives in a small palace adjoining. She is accused of a very free life, and of being rich, which circumstances, added to the suspicion respecting her husband's death, render her no very respectable personage. By seven we returned to Futty Ghur: the distance is about three miles.

The town of Furruckabad is only ninety years old. The Patans, being thorough soldiers, have built it at a distance from the river. The streets are wide, and Mr. Grant is raising them, and removing all nuisances. I think it will be a very pretty town, as the gates are putting in repair. The trees most delightfully shade the houses and open spaces. The trade is already considerable, and the vicinity of the cantonments will ever render it flourishing. Mr. Grant has begun with the city, but means to extend the repairs of roads through the whole district; for which purpose there is an allowance of one per cent. on the revenue, which is paid, over and above the rent, by the Zemindars. This was voluntarily done by them after having made their terms, in consequence of a proposal from Mr. Wellesley, who represented to them the advantages attendant on the new instead of the old plan, which much resembled the corvée in France. The Zemindar was obliged to repair every road that passed through his district, while those who were distant but a few yards, and equally shared in every advantage, paid not a rupee. It frequently

consumed every profit. The new arrangement extended through the whole of the ceded provinces, but has unfortunately been abolished in a few, in consequence of misconduct in the officers. It amounts in Furruckabad to a little above 10,000 rupees per annum, and is honourably managed by Messrs. Russell and Grant, who, instead of looking to private emolument, or disputing about the management, cordially concur for the public good, and have the accounts audited half-yearly, and signed by both of them.

The original author of this plan was William Augustus Brook, then collector, judge, and magistrate of Shehabad; who, when settling the decennial revenue of the province of Bahar, seeing that if not done then, it never could be done, took privately from the Zemindars engagements to pay the one per cent. and expended the money on the roads. Six months afterwards, he sent down a statement of the fact to Colonel Ross, private secretary to Lord Cornwallis, with a strong representation of the advantages, &c. hoping that his Lordship would confirm the arrangement; which was done. The Benares district is so oppressed by the corvée, that the magistrate has been stopped at villages, and requested to take back the place, and repair the roads. Formerly many fine ways were made by the King, with avenues and wells, and serais at proper distances. Trees were planted on the sides, sometimes by rich individuals, particularly in the vicinity of Benares. A Hindoo, who plants a tree, digs a well, and begets a son, is sure of Heaven. This opinion has given rise to many splendid works; no doubt, vanity had also a considerable influence.

August 15.—It had been originally my intention to pay my respects to General Lake, the Commander in Chief, at Cawnpore; but

the turn which the Mahratta politics have taken having obliged his Excellency to take the field with the whole army in these provinces, I was reduced to the necessity of setting off this day to meet him at Gosiah Gunge, distant about twenty miles. Mr. Russell lent me two carriages, and from the Cali Nuddi I meant to go upon an elephant. I had written to General Lake to propose the place, but did not receive his answer till early in the morning. This delayed me till eight o'clock, when the heat was considerable, although the sky was occasionally cloudy. However, I went on, and meeting with no accident, arrived at his Excellency's camp about eleven. My reception was perfectly polite and cordial. He had paid me the compliment of pitching my tent in a line with his, and close to him: my escort was behind. The scene was very pleasing: the camp covered a very large extent of ground, was frequently divided by mango-topes, and in the back ground, here and there, appeared a few houses. The white tents, covering the plain in every direction, formed a pleasing contrast with the dark trees that backed them; and the colours in the front added greatly to the effect. The elephants were strolling about; the soldiers were retired to their tents; the numerous army followers were collecting forage in every direction.

The whole line had now joined, which marched in divisions from Cawnpore, consisting of about five thousand troops, and twenty thousand followers. This is the general proportion of an Indian army, and is one cause of the difficulty of keeping them together, from the prodigious quantity of provision that is necessary for their maintenance. It is almost the first instance of taking the field during the rains; but, hitherto, the weather has been most

favourable, and they have not suffered the least inconvenience. They do not move above nine or ten miles a day, that they may keep their cattle fresh, and in heart, when they enter the enemy's country. The gun fires for marching at three o'clock, and they reach the ground before the sun has any power. In former campaigns the European soldiers were obliged to lie on the ground like the natives; but General Lake has procured cots for the whole of them. If the value of an European soldier be considered, the additional expense bears no proportion to the advantage of this measure in preserving their lives. It has succeeded well, for they have very few sick, which would not have been the case had they been exposed to the dampness of the ground. Such a march as this could not have been undertaken, had not the soil been an unmixed sand, which in a few hours after rain becomes perfectly dry.

This morning the whole of the troops, in cantonments at Futty Ghur, began their march. They consist of about the same number of regulars, and followers, and by a different route, will join his Excellency on the frontiers. He will also receive accession of strength on the road, by the junction of regiments at different quarters, so that probably his army will amount to twenty thousand men. The eighth light dragoons, with Colonel Vandeleure, are at Cawnpore, only waiting for horses. The Nawaub Vizier has offered his stud, and they will probably procure from him three hundred horses; a very handsome present! The European troops at present with the army, are the 27th and 29th light dragoons, and the 76th foot. Their officers had notice that they were to be reduced, and sent to Europe, only a month before they took the field; in consequence of which they had sold, at half price, all

their camp equipage, &c. which, on the order for marching being received, they were obliged again to provide at a most ruinous expense.

August 16.—At three o'clock I was up and dressed, and soon afterwards set off with the General. It was totally dark, and the road being over fields, we made the mussalchees precede us till we came up with the ammunition waggons, when prudence made us extinguish the lights. The road was covered with carts, bullocks, and troops, but the darkness prevented me from examining an Indian army on its march. It seems to differ from an European one, only, in being more confused. We got to the ground taken up by the tents about a mile beyond Secundepore, after a ride of nine miles. The day was sultry, but in the evening the sky was overcast, and it rained a little. As his Excellency determined to continue his march the next day, I took my leave of him in the evening, when, in a long and interesting conversation, he expressed to me the anxiety that he felt for the success of the present contest. He said, that Lord Wellesley's conduct towards him had ever been noble and generous. That from his first arrival in India, they had ever been on terms of friendship, and reciprocal good will, unclouded by any mean jealousy: that his Excellency had now completed his kindness, by vesting in him an unlimited power, both of drawing on the different treasuries, and making treaties with the native princes: that, consequently, he considered himself alone as answerable for the result; which however he hoped and trusted would be such as to justify the confidence, which the noble Marquis had, on this occasion, been pleased to place in him. These praises of the Governor-General were most gratifying to my feelings, and convinced me that

he had rightly estimated the character of the Commander in Chief, whose probabilities of success were greatly increased by a confidence which did equal honour to them both.

August 17.—Having sent on one elephant to pass the Cali Nuddi, I set off on another, with Mr. Webb on horseback, for the ferry, distant six miles. As there was but one small boat, the cavalry and carriages were sent round by Kodda Gunge. At the village on the other side of the river we found a gig waiting for us, into which we mounted, and, through roads that were never meant for a carriage, passed safe to a spot within two miles of the cantonments, where our friends had kindly placed a sociable. We got to Mr. Grant's by half past eight.

August 28.—Wishing to pay every attention in my power to the Nawaub, I called on him this morning to take my leave, a compliment with which he seemed highly gratified. I afterwards paid a formal visit to his uncle the regent, who had visited me, and received presents to the amount of two thousand rupees. His character is so detestable, that I should have declined paying him any attention, had I not wished to avoid the appearance of entering into any party disputes in India.

Had it not been for the honour of the thing, I should most thankfully have dispensed with my cavalry suwarry; for in the streets of Furruckabad the dust was so thick, that we were nearly suffocated. Only a few showers have fallen since my arrival, for the wind still continues to blow from the westward, a most extraordinary circumstance at this season, and in consequence of which the country is so completely parched up, that the first harvest will probably yield but little to the unfortunate ryot. To Scindiah

and his allies this unusually dry season will be still more fatal. They had calculated that the rains would set in as usual, and would preclude the possibility of General Lake's taking the field till they had finished their preparations for defence; but instead of that, he is probably by this time on their frontiers, at the head of an army in perfect health and spirits.

August 30.—At five in the morning I set off from Futty Ghur, and arrived at half after six at the Cali Nuddi, where I found one of the cavalry horses dying, and another lying drowned on the bank. We crossed without difficulty, and arrived at Jelalabad by nine, a distance altogether of about twenty-four miles. We did not encamp precisely on the same ground as before, but in a tope, which, as the wind was high, was more pleasant. The parched appearance of the country was truly melancholy, and the heat most oppressive.

August 31.—Moving by half after four, we hoped to have escaped the heat of the sun; but it arose unclouded, and was very powerful before we got to Meerun-ka-Serai, a long twelve miles from our last resting place. Having learned that Colonel Vandeleure would be this day at Bellowar, I wrote to him, to invite him to join my party at dinner, and to inform him, that I did not feel it necessary to keep my cavalry guard any longer with me, and that therefore, if it would be any convenience to him, I would put them under his orders. This letter I sent off by a messenger at eleven o'clock, who returned with an answer by eight in the evening, having gone sixteen coss, or nearly forty miles, in nine hours. This I considered as very expeditious, and rewarded him with two rupees, a sum which he probably had never before earned in one day. The

Colonel objected to quitting his regiment, as he was impatient to join General Lake, but accepted, with many thanks, my offer of attaching my guard to him; they were, in consequence, ordered to depart on the morrow, to their great mortification, as they had flattered themselves with the hopes of accompanying me to a celebrated fair, held at Mukhunpore in honour of a Mussulmaun saint.

In the night I was alarmed by a violent motion of my bed, caused, as I at the time supposed, by some animal having got under it; but on looking underneath, nothing was there. The motion was sufficiently violent to make me jump up in bed; nor could I account for it till morning, when the sepoy on guard at my tent said, that he had been thrown down by the motion of the earth, and almost every person had experienced the concussion: it could therefore be nothing but an earthquake. It moved, as nearly as I could conjecture, from N. to S. and lasted only a few seconds, at least that shock which I felt, and which awoke me. There might have been slighter previously. The earthquake was felt from hence to Calcutta, but seems to have been most violent at Lucknow, where it destroyed the major part of the minarets, and cracked the Rome-ka-derwasse and the Imaumbarah. Mr. Paul's building in the middle of his garden, in which Mr. Salt slept, has eight arched door-ways, and every one was cracked in the middle: the waters in the tanks overflowed with violence. At Allahabad it stopped the clock at seventeen minutes past one, but did no mischief. It is impossible to trace the progress of the shock, as there seems no difference in the time at Meerun-ka Serai, Lucknow, Allahabad, and Calcutta.

September 1.—At half after four we set off, and arrived at Mukhunpore in little more than two hours and a half, a distance

of about ten miles: the road for the last mile was lined with Faquirs begging and praying. The approach is pleasing, as a small river winds along at the base of the rising ground, on which are situated the mosque and town, partly hid by trees. Our tents were pitched in a mango tope, at a small distance from the crowd. One of my bearers was bit by a large black scorpion in the toe: he immediately tied a piece of string tightly round it, and did not inform me till some hours afterwards. I applied the volatile alkali. He had suffered little pain, and was soon well. Soon after my arrival, the chief Faquir of the tomb waited on me, accompanied by another, with divers certificates of good conduct from the English who had been there. The latter staid to be our cicerone; the former departed, on receiving a promise that I would pay my visit to the saint in the evening, a thing which, of course, he much pressed on me. The fair begins on the 17th day of the moon; this is only the 15th, yet the assembly is considerable. Whilst at dinner, we were amused by dancers on the tight and slack rope, and feats of strength and agility. They equalled any thing of the kind that I ever beheld in Europe; and one boy showed uncommon dexterity in balancing different things on the top of his head, whilst elevated on the summit of a bamboo that was kept in continual motion. Afterwards a female conjuror exhibited with cups and balls, eggs, and pieces of money, precisely in the European fashion. I really begin to suspect that all our follies as well as knowledge were derived from this country, and fully expect to be entertained with a panorama at Benares, and a phantasmagoria in the cave of Elephanta. We were treated with the celebrated trick of the mango seed planted, and the tree growing to bear fruit in the space of half an hour, which was rather clumsily

performed. Mounting our elephants, and attended by my servant and Gopinath, we set off for the rowzah, or tomb. At the gate of the outer court we were received by a great number of the priests, and conducted through three courts to the shrine. In each of these were multitudes of Faquirs, roaring, dancing, and praying, with the most frantic gestures. The drums and shrill trumpets, with large brass basons beaten with hollow sticks, added to the discordance of the noise. Even the walls were crowded, and we should have made our wa with difficulty, had it not been for the exertions of our Faquirs, who, expecting a handsome present from the Lord Saib, repelled the crowd, and repressed with indignation the demands of some of the most superstitious, that we should take off our shoes. Of course this was complied with by our native servants. The tomb itself is placed in the centre of a square building, with four windows of fret work; through one of which is occasionally an opening. It is of the usual shape and size, and is covered with cloth of gold, with a canopy of the same over it, highly perfumed with attar of roses. We went the circuit, and looked in at each window; afterwards, we visited the mosque, in front of which is a fountain, and two prodigious boilers, where a constant miracle is performed; for if unholy rice is put into them, they still continue empty: I had not time to see this executed; but it is a trick not very difficult to play. I was glad to escape by ordering my Faquir to return to the tents. In taking a tour through the fair, I saw a fellow with snakes and a mangose; the latter in about two minutes killed three of the former, in despite of their twisting round him. On reaching the tents, I found many of the holy men in attendance, inasmuch as they were afraid of trusting each other, although each considered himself as perfect.

I gave them two gold mohurs, about which they wrangled abundantly. At his particular request, I appointed the Faquir Kurimmuddien my Vakeel at the court of the holy saint Huzrut Syed Buddiudien Kotbal Muddar; and at the same time received from him an account of his master, a translation of which is given in the Appendix. At these fairs are assembled all the rascals in India; we therefore expected some attempt might be made to rob us, but the night passed off quietly.

September 2.—At four we left Mukhunpore for Poorah, distant seven coss, or fourteen miles, and did not get there till past eight. Our elephants were completely tired; and the sun rising perfectly clear, the heat was very oppressive. We found our tents most pleasantly situated in a mango tope on the side of the road, perfectly open to the west, whence the wind blew fresh; but, alas! towards the middle of the day it occasionally was as hot as before the rains. The country we passed through is, as usual, a sand, but highly cultivated, with mango topes in great abundance: I saw no jungle the whole day. The crops were in a wretched state, except where the poor cultivators had, with much labour, watered their fields from the wells that are almost constantly at one side of them. The roads were very bad after we got into the Etawah district, where the one per cent. has been taken off, and the old corvée established again. The crowd we met going to the fair astonished me: for the first ten miles it was as great as in London streets; and afterwards, some party or other was always in sight. The scene amused me much; Hindoos and Mussulmauns equally hastening to the religious festivity. The females with their infants in hackerys, when they could afford the expense: the males on horseback; the

poorer women on foot, with their husbands frequently carrying two children in the bangys slung across their shoulders. The faquirs with their flags, and beastly appearance, added to the crowd, and stunned us with their tom-toms. Mounted on our elephants we got on without difficulty, and were greeted with a blessing and chorus as we passed by them. During the whole night the road was covered, and the song announced their approach. The night was extremely cool and pleasant.

September 3.—At half after four I set off on my elephant, and Mr. Webb, who felt unwell, in his palanquin, for Chibbepore, distant about ten miles. We again were encamped in a mango tope, and the breeze, though still from the west, was cool and pleasant, except occasionally, when, for a minute, it was so hot that one might have supposed the rains had not yet arrived.

September 4.—At half after three we left Chibbepore. Two miles from Cawnpore, Mr. Richardson the Collector met me, and conveyed me to the bungelow of Captain Salkeld, who had proceeded with Colonel Vandeleure for the army. I there found Mr. Paul, who had arrived the night before; Mr. Salt came in the evening. At Cawnpore, which is the chief military station in the ceded provinces, there are barracks for four hundred artillery, two King's regiments of infantry, one of cavalry, three native cavalry, and seven thousand native infantry. At present there are not three hundred men there, the rest being with the Commander in Chief. The females from the outer stations are come into this place and Futty Ghur for protection; but not considering themselves as safe, have boats ready to depart at a moment's warning. The boats that are used for pleasure are large and convenient, having several

apartments, with venetian blinds on each side to keep them cool. Unfortunately for us, so many were engaged at this time, that we could not procure any that were very good. Three small ones tolerably clean were hired for Mr. Paul, Mr. Salt, and myself: we had others for our servants and baggage. A person met me from the Vizier, to whose custody I delivered up the tents and elephants.

September 5.—I discharged all my servants that were hired at Lucknow, except two hircarrahs, as they would be useless during the voyage, and I should be obliged to give them two months wages to take them back, if I discharged them at Calcutta. His Highness the Nawaub Vizier sent me by Mr. Paul two very magnificent Persian dresses, such as he wears himself, with a sword and shield. He also sent me four female dresses belonging, as he said, to his own wife. These were more elegant, and more richly ornamented with gold and silver, than any thing I had seen, and gave me a high idea of the elegance of the interior of a Mussulmaun's harem. The present was singular, and in some respects contrary to their custom, as they rarely mention the females of their family.

September 6.—At ten o'clock we embarked in the pinnace which was hired by Mr. Paul: it was rowed by twelve dandys, and being the largest, was our sitting room. The river is most uncommonly low for the season; the sand banks are therefore visible, and leave the channel in some places hardly sufficient in width for the passage of the boat. The current is extremely rapid, and drives the boat very often broadside foremost. The water-fowl are in great numbers on the edges of the shoals, and form an excellent mark by which to guide the boats. The breeze is still from the westward, and drives us on at a very good rate. The bungelows, as we proceeded, extended for

four miles on our right, situated on an elevated bank, with hanging shrubs occasionally interspersed. It was much cooler than on shore; indeed Cawnpore is the hottest place at which I have been. We stopped at Mr. Quiros's at Nudjufgur, formerly belonging to General Martin. It is an Hindostanico-European house, with small rooms, fortified as usual by strong doors and shutters; and has no recommendation except being on the banks of the Ganges. The indigo works at this place are very considerable, but the season is so bad, that this year it will be a losing concern, as they will not have above two hundred maunds, though the usual quantity is one thousand four hundred. Mr. Quiros has the house, and one-third of the profits, for managing the whole of the business. We viewed the indigo works; but it was too hot to see the gardens, which, I understand are very extensive; or the plantation of roses, that was formed to supply the manufacture of attar, which was the finest in India. In the evening we passed the town of Surajpore, pleasingly situated on the right bank of the river, with several Hindoo temples and gauts to the edge, for ablutions, some of which were in ruins, but others were building. The country is flat, excepting the high bank of the river, on which, in general, the villages are situated, surrounded by mango topes. Not unfrequently a little pagoda peeped from among the trees, and the river expanded into reaches of eight or nine miles, altogether forming a scene that was grand and pleasing, notwithstanding the even line of the horizon. We dined at five, and came to an anchor on the eastern, or left side of the river, about seven o'clock, a little below Bucksah, having come seventeen coss. We found there a merchant going up the country with merchandise, and from him procured some articles we wanted.

We retired for the night to our separate boats, which were moored close together. Our dandys lighted their fires, and dressed their simple meal on the bank. We had one shower of rain in the day; several fell in the night, and much cooled the air; but before midnight it was again excessively sultry.

September 7.—We got off by five. The banks of the river were this day more picturesque, from the mixture of jungle with the mango and tamarind trees. Our mangy* got us on a sand bank, as he had several times done the day before, and in a more alarming manner, for the river drove us down a channel that was not, in general, used: for several miles we were kept in doubt whether we should be able to get out at the extremity, or be obliged to track back the whole way: fortunately we were not reduced to the latter, which would have delayed us at least a day. It was however a vexatious circumstance, as we did not pass close to Dalmow, situated on the eastern bank, which is covered with handsome pagodas, gauts, and a citadel of some extent. This was the birth-place of Ticket-roy, where he had a country seat; and to his munificence they are indebted for the numerous buildings. The breeze continued pleasant. We dined at four, and by half past six came to our moorings on a sand bank, which we chose, in hopes to escape the numerous insects that attend on vegetation; nor were we disappointed. We this day made thirty coss. The breeze continued the whole night.

September 8.—At half after three the boats were removing: by six I was in sight of Currah, which extends for above a mile along the western bank, on the summit of which the old fort was situated; of which nothing now remains except ruins. A new one of brick, with a

* Steersman.

stone gateway, and four round towers, the height of the walls, is unfinished. As the pinnaces were not in sight, I was tempted by the appearance of several picturesque pagodas overshadowed by tamarinds and banian trees, to land at a gaut, and visit one of the largest, where was an image of Mahadeo in the centre, and the bull looking at him. Sezadpore is distant a mile, and does not lie on the main branch of the river; I could, therefore, only perceive it at a distance. It has many handsome brick buildings, and no appearance of decay; the numbers from it that were bathing in the river show that its population is considerable. The wind blew very fresh, and drove all the three boats on a sand bank to leeward, where we were delayed for an hour and a half, with all our men up to their middles in the water, pushing us along: afterwards the breeze carried us on admirably. The Ganges is muddy and discoloured: the spits of sand that stretch out alternately from each side make the navigation very circuitous and difficult. The reaches were, as usual, very fine, with frequent villages on both sides. The river, on approaching Allahabad, becomes so shallow, that in no part can you pass down without being pushed across the sands. We were in sight of it by five o'clock, but at half after six we were only parallel to it on the opposite bank. The other boats had crossed with facility; but in attempting it with the whole force of our oars, we were driven by the stream down to the Jumna, and with very great difficulty made the opposite bank. Allahabad does not make a very handsome appearance; there are a few large brick buildings, but without any rich ornaments. The fort is at some distance, placed on a tongue of land, one side being washed by the Jumna, and the other very nearly approaching the Ganges. It is lofty and extensive,

and completely commands the navigation of the two rivers. Although it contains a palace, yet from the uniformity of the tops of the buildings, it has not a very striking effect. We made thirty coss this day.

September 9.—We were at breakfast by gun fire, and immediately afterwards set off to visit Colonel Kyd, the commanding officer, at his house above the fort, which we reached in an hour and a half, by tracking up the Jumna. It consists chiefly of an old mosque, the centre of which, with its dome, forms an excellent room; the sides are bedchambers. The internal accommodations are excellent, and the view from it, including the fort and two rivers, is fine. After breakfast we visited the fort; it is perfectly defended by the old walls on the two fronts next the river, with the addition of some cannon mounted on them. The Jumna is here nearly fourteen hundred yards wide, and the Ganges a mile. The third side is perfectly modern, and is made as strong as the irregularity of the site will admit. It has three ravelins, two bastions, and a half bastion, and stands higher than any ground in face of it. The gateway is Grecian, and elegant. On the side facing the Jumna one building is converted into an excellent set of apartments for the officers. The house of the Governor, in particular, is spacious and cool, with large subterranean rooms overhanging the river. The fronts are Grecian, and uniform. In the same line another building is modernised, and converted into barracks for the non-commissioned officers. In the angle is a square palace where Shah Allum kept his women: there is an excellent drawing of it by Daniel. The external appearance is preserved, but all the detached buildings which surrounded it are pulled down. It is a square of six hundred feet, surrounding an

interior palace. When the King used to reside here, the Zenana was divided into twelve suites of apartments by walls which passed from the palace: these are destroyed, but a covered way encircling the interior palace at a small distance, is preserved, and turned into store rooms for artillery. The centre building is modernised, and formed into a magazine, which purpose it answers most admirably. The large outer building is, on three sides, a barrack for privates; the interior front is Grecian, and uniform; the fourth is for stores. To the right again, on the bank of the Ganges, is a barrack for two hundred artillery-men. All have large doors and windows, admitting a thorough air. One powder magazine is finished, and holds fifteen hundred barrels. These improvements have been carried on by Colonel Kyd during a five year's residence, and are executed in a very masterly manner. They have cost twelve lacs, and it is money well laid out. No native power can ever take it, and a regular siege would be necessary, were an European army before it. It is the grand depot for our upper provinces, which seem to be hourly increasing in size and consequence. In the centre of the fort is a Hindoo temple, the top of which is level with the ground. I descended into it by a long sloping passage, and found it square, and supported by pillars. In the centre is the Lingam, and at the western end is a dead forked tree. Behind is a narrow passage, which the Brahmin assured me passed from hence to Delhi. As a man could only enter it on his hands and knees, the journey would be rather tedious. The heat was most oppressive; I therefore passed quickly upwards, observing several other small statues in my way. This temple is called Patal-poree, by the Hindoos, in which word some people wish to discover the ancient Palibothra.

It is, at any rate, of very great antiquity, and is one of the holy bathing places. Many Brahmins and Faquirs, with their flags stuck in the sand, were performing their ablutions underneath the fort, on the Ganges side.

The Ganges is far from being visibly increased in size or rapidity by the tribute of so large a river as the Jumna. The banks are more lofty, and the bends more frequent. We were obliged to be tracked along the sand banks on the windward side of the river, to avoid being driven on a lee-shore; neither could we, with all our exertions, make more than ten coss by sun-set.

September 10.—After a night uncommonly sultry, we set off at four with a brisk breeze at S.W. My boleah, which had passed down the Goomty from Lucknow, here joined us with my baggage. At twelve we entered the singular reach where the river runs N.W. nearly doubling back its former course. It is now more west than marked in Rennell's map. In two hours we got to the end, formed by a lofty bank, the base of which is conchar,* that resists the whole force of the river, unless when it rises very high, on which occasions it has carried off the upper strata of clay and sand, and subverted a part of the village situated on the summit. The rocks extend some distance into the river, and render the navigation dangerous. After the sharp turn to the right, the river resumes its northerly course for about four miles. A very high flood would, I think, carry away the village and all underneath it to the conchar; but that will require years to remove. If it should ever take place, it would be a prodigious advantage to the navigation, as I have not perceived a more dangerous spot. We slept about thirteen

* A species of lime-stone.

miles above Mirzapore. Having dismissed our large boat, mine was used for dining; Mr. Paul occupied my little boleah; Mr. Salt remained as before, and the baggage was distributed. Though crowded, we preferred this to the delay and danger attendant on the badness of the other, and the ignorance of the mangy. We made about thirty coss this day.

September 11.—We set off at five, and at half after eight were opposite to Binde Baasnee, where daily offerings of sweetmeats and fruits are made to Cali, the black wife of Siva, instead of the bloody sacrifice of animals, and even of the human species; which, though at first sight incompatible with the mild tenets of the Brahmins, undoubtedly existed in former times, and is enforced in the Vedas. Soon afterwards we passed Mirzapore, the greatest cotton mart on the Ganges, a town of considerable extent, consisting of handsome European houses, and the humble habitations of the natives, with a cluster of Hindoo temples crowding the banks of the river. Thence we were obliged to track till two o'clock, as the breeze gradually died away, owing to which circumstance we did not reach Chunar till half after six, having made about seventeen coss. The approach to Chunar is marked by a chain of low hills, running parallel to the river on its right bank, which is covered by plantations and bungelows. The fort itself is situated on a rock, which rises abruptly from the plain, and advances some distance into the river. It is fortified in the Indian manner by walls and towers, one behind the other, and is a place of considerable strength. It was of great importance in former times; but as the British frontier has been carried further north, Monghyr and Allahabad have each in their turn superseded

it as a military depot. A sepoy came off to meet us in a boat, with a book, in which we entered our names, and number of boats: every passenger is obliged to do so, as the batteries completely command the navigation of the river, and allow no boat to go up or down without this ceremony.

September 12.—We set off at eight, and a little below, on the left bank, came to some lines and bungelows, which they say are called Little Calcutta. By one o'clock we were in sight of Ramnaghur and Benares, having passed through a country by no means interesting. The current did not carry us above three miles an hour, for the river was nearly as low as in the dry season, and the rains seemed to be completely over. At five I got to Rajegaut, a distance of eleven coss, where I landed, and after dressing myself, went to Mr. Neave's. Mr. Paul went to Mr. Barton's, but found he had departed the preceding night for Mirzapore, in consequence of General Deare not being able to procure provisions; the appearance of scarcity from the total failure of the first crop, and the probable failure of the second, inducing the people to keep back their grain; he therefore accompanied us to dine at Sir Frederick Hamilton's, the Paymaster, where I had the pleasure to hear of General Lake's success before Allighur, and the consequent capture of that place by an exertion of valour, which gives the best hopes of ultimate success. The rapidity of the Commander in Chief's movements was such as to have baffled all Perron's plans. Had a regular seige of Allighur been undertaken, the delay would have enabled the whole of the Mahratta predatory troops to come up, and make their rapid incursions into the Vizier's territory, where there now are but few troops to oppose them. The mischief that might

be done by large bodies of Mahratta horse, has been shown by Major de Fleury, who, with six thousand, has made an incursion, plundered Etaway, captured a detachment under Mr. Cuningham at Shekoabad, and obliged Colonel Vandeleure to retire to Furruckabad. I have reason to rejoice that I escaped from the vicinity of the seat of war. We returned to our boats for the night, which was sultry, under the high bank of Benares.

September 13.—At five we set off. The current was slow, and we only got to the mouth of the Goomty by half after two. The soil on the banks is changed from a sand to a clay mixed with loam. We saw a green alligator. The breeze was light, and we were obliged to track most of the morning. We came to at half after six, having made about twenty coss.

September 14.—This was a hotter day than any we had experienced. About four in the evening we passed Gazypore, where are cantonments for three regiments of cavalry, and at the end of the town a palace of the Nawaub of Oude overhanging the river, which was now wide, and the current consequently so slow, that we have made but sixteen coss in fourteen hours.

September 15.—The weather was so extremely sultry that our dandys could hardly get us on. Eight of Mr. Salt's deserted in the night, but we procured others at Buxar, where we were obliged to stop, in order once more to give in a report of our names and business to a person appointed by Government for that purpose. Whilst we stayed to allow our people to procure provisions, we were told that yesterday a boat, containing a petty Rajah and his family, was overset a little higher up the river by striking on a steep bank, and that only two dandys were saved. Such accidents are not

unfrequent on the Ganges. We proceeded in the evening one coss further, having made only twelve in the day.

September 16.—We departed at six with a pleasant breeze from the westward. The river improves, being wider, and having fewer sand banks, with reaches sometimes so long, that we could not distinguish the termination. Opposite to Seerpore it has cut off an angle, and made itself a new and straighter course. We met many boats tracking up; four were drawn by fifty-six people, and they got on with much labour. The native merchant boats are covered with a pent-house of thatch; most of them made of several pieces bound together, and the whole apparently not of sufficient strength to resist so mighty a stream. The cotton boats and European merchant boats are better. Those of the villagers, which are employed for fishing, are formed like the canoes of the savages of America, out of a single tree. They are about twenty feet long, and three wide. We anchored at seven about two coss above the junction of the Gogra, on the right hand side; having made twenty-five coss.

September 17.—We set off at five, and passed the Gogra by eight o'clock. It is a very large stream, but excites no disturbance in the Ganges. The wind was due east; but we ought to be satisfied with the singular good fortune of having had a westerly wind for these ten days, a circumstance unprecedented at this season. The navigation is vastly more circuitous than the river, owing to the spits of sand which oblige us to pass frequently from one side to the other; and this, in a river that is a mile wide, makes at least a difference of one coss in four. We passed the Soane at three o'clock: at some distance beyond, the river expanded into a magnificent reach,

on one side of which were situated the cantonments of Dinapore, and the noble habitation erected for the General commanding the station. Beyond Dinapore is an excellent house in the European style, belonging to the Nawaub Vizier, where he resided frequently before his elevation to the musnud, and where he used to entertain the officers of the station in a most hospitable manner. He was continuing his improvements when he removed: several buildings remain unfinished. Though the wind came round to the eastward, we made Bankipore by seven o'clock, owing to the rapidity of the current. The banks were picturesque from the palm-trees, which covered them in considerable profusion, increasing as we descended, and forming a contrast with the European appearance of the mango and other forest trees in the upper provinces. We made this day twenty-seven coss.

September 18.—The river did not rise within four feet of its usual height this last season, and consequently the current seems to have taken an unusual direction; this gives hopes of saving the bank on which Bankipore is situated, from which it had formerly taken such considerable tracts as to oblige the gentlemen resident there to defend their houses with piles and matting. The European houses extend the whole way from Bankipore to Patna, which by no means makes a handsome figure from the water: although it has several large buildings of brick, they are chiefly old, without any rich ornaments; and I observed but one small solitary pagoda, and one or two indifferent mosques. The Ganges here forms a reach, whose limits to the east could not be discerned. As the wind was fresh from that point, we experienced a considerable swell. A boat came off from the Custom-house with an officer,

when we were obliged for the third time to inscribe our names, &c. The country here has not suffered from the want of rain so much as the upper provinces. Of the first crop they will lose only about a third. The Government have done their duty in diminishing the distress of the ryots who suffer most, consenting to receive the revenue that is due in three instalments. Had it not been for this indulgence, they would have fled, as present payment was impossible. The current was extremely rapid, and carried us by six o'clock to a bank which had a very pleasant appearance, where we therefore stopped for the night, having made about twelve coss.

September 19.—We set off at five, with a strong easterly wind against us, which, as the river is very wide, caused a considerable swell. At twelve we passed Bar, a small village, and soon afterwards came in sight of the Bahar hills. As the wind abated, we made twenty-two coss.

September 20.—In consequence of our mangys mistaking the hour, we proceeded at three o'clock. The motion soon became so violent that I awoke. The river was one extended reach to the hills, which were distant sixteen coss. The stream was very rapid, by which means we made some way till about twelve o'clock, when the wind had sufficient strength to keep us stationary in the middle of a strong current. About two it blew a very heavy gale, with rain; we resisted it for some time, but at length were driven on a sand bank, which fortunately had a gradual slope. The dandys drove in stakes, and with ropes prevented our being completely aground. The gale ceased about five, and we got on to an island. On this day we made but nine coss in fifteen hours; and the effect

of the east winds taught us to value our good fortune in having had westerly winds for so long a time.

September 21.—At six, when we set off, it was a calm, but the wind rather freshened about eight. The scenery was this day very much improved by the vicinity of the hills on the right hand, which are covered with jungle to the summit. The fore-ground was flat as usual; mango topes and palm trees were mixed with the villages. On the left was a dreary sand bank, covered only with grass, along which we were obliged to creep slowly till twelve o'clock, when the current became more rapid and the wind lessened. At one, Monghyr was in sight, and by six we reached it, having only made eleven coss.

September 22.—We were moving by daylight, and at eight came to visit the hot well of Setacoon, which I have before mentioned. It is situated about half a mile from the shore, in a plain backed by the hills, with several rocks rising about it. The spring is considerable, and the air-bubbles rise in great quantities. I had no thermometer to ascertain the heat, but it was too hot to let the hand remain in it. It is built round, with steps to descend to it, so that I could not examine the substance of the natural sides. There are three cold springs on three sides of it, at the distance of about twenty paces; in these my bearers and other Hindoo servants first bathed, and repeated prayers after the Brahmins: they then proceeded to the hot well, where they took up a little of the water in their hands, the Brahmin praying for some time. They threw it in again, and had a small quantity sprinkled on them, which they most religiously rubbed in, making their salaams at the same time. We were soon satisfied, and hastened from the importunate begging

of the Faquirs, to our boats. We proceeded by nine, the wind still east, and made tolerable way till two, when we were driven by the wind and current against a lofty bank, which was rapidly yielding to the attack of the stream. I feared lest a quantity should fall into the boat, but we were generally saved from this accident by the slope, occasioned by what had already fallen, which prevented too near an approach. Sometimes, however, the fall of large masses close to the boat considerably alarmed us. This lasted for two hours, during which we made but little way. The river then turning to the south, and the wind falling, we got on by six to the celebrated Faquir's rock at Janguira. It rises in the river near to the right shore, and has deep water all around. It has been drawn by Daniel. We made but fourteen coss this day.

September 23.—We set off a little after five, and as the wind was light, got on tolerably well to the mouth of the nullah which leads up to Bhaugulpore: we were there by ten o'clock, and obliged to track the rest of the day. We stopped at six, on the lee side of a sand-bank, having made fifteen coss.

September 24.—In the night we had a violent storm of thunder and lightning, accompanied with rain, and wind from the east. We held to the shore by ropes, and suffered no inconvenience. The hills still continue on the right, but much nearer. At nine we came to three islands in the river, covered with wood, with large masses of rock, forming a firm barrier against the force of the water, and others still larger rearing their heads amongst the underwood. The ground on the right bank was beautifully undulated, and covered in many places with trees, among which were two English houses, in a situation the most enviable I have seen in

India: beyond them was a range of small detached conical hills, covered with jungle to their summits, and at a greater distance, the blue hills of Bahar. Colgong is the name of the place, near which the Bhaugulpore nullah again joins the river: four coss lower, the river makes a singular turn round a hill covered with wood; and from nearly a northern, takes a due eastern course. Some rocks protrude into the stream, on the farthest of which are carved the Hindoo deities, in compartments. At three o'clock a heavy gale came on, and drove us on a lee-shore, where we were obliged to remain all night. It was about two coss above Pointee, and about thirteen from our halting place of yesterday.

September 25.—The night was very unpleasant, from a heavy rain and strong wind, which raised a considerable swell, and made the budgerow beat every minute against the shore. At six, we attempted to get over the river, but did not succeed; and at eight were obliged to return to the shore we had left, only one coss lower down. The men got out the rope to tow us, and coming suddenly into deep water, two of them were carried off by the current, and would have been lost, had not a small native boat been near, which took them up. The bank was covered with a grass fourteen feet high, whose roots run very deep, and assist in preventing the incroachments of the river; it however rendered tracking more difficult to our men. By great exertions we at length rounded the rocky head-land of Pointee, and came to in a small bay, where we were sheltered from the strong easterly wind, that rendered our advancing impracticable, having made only four coss. Mr. Salt and I walked to the top of the hill, where a Mahommedan saint is buried, and worshipped, in consequence of having,

as they say, taken prisoner a tyrannical Rajah about four hundred years ago, and thrown him into the Ganges in a large kedgeree pot; I presume, well closed. His house and mosque are in ruins, but his tomb is in high preservation on the summit of the hill, and commands a very fine view of the river, with the Terriagully hills quite to Siceligully, when the river at length turns to the south. Pointee is one of the tannah, or invalid villages.

September 26.—At half past five we set off with little wind, but it freshened by eight, and we were obliged to make the lee-shore, and track. The river is here most dangerous, the sand banks stretching out above a mile, and being at that distance in some places hardly under water. At two we came to a nullah, where it again joins the Ganges; yet the effect of the easterly gale meeting the current obliquely, and forming an angle, drove the water so rapidly into it, that it carried us up for a considerable distance; nor could we make the opposite shore for above an hour, having broken a rope in the attempt to drag. Our poor dandys worked on till near six, having in twelve hours made only six coss: it was altogether one of the most unpleasant days I ever passed. We could never say we were out of danger, and all our people suffered great fatigue and inconvenience; nor was there any village near, where they could procure provisions. A large herd of cattle was feeding, with their keepers, at the place to which we came. They refused to milk the cows for us till morning; but we exerted a little illegal violence, and imprisoned the chief in the boat, till he procured the quantity of milk we wanted, for which we paid a very handsome price.

September 27.—After a damp and rainy night, we had some

difficulty in inducing our dandys to set off at six, but gentle words and presents encouraged them. We soon afterwards were overtaken by a violent storm, which drove us on a desert shore, covered with a lofty grass jungle, through which the tigers had in two places made a road to the water, and left the marks of their feet behind. To stay here was impossible; our poor fellows were therefore obliged to scramble on, frequently up to their middle in water, dragging us after them. The current was violent, and the swell greater than I thought fresh water could produce. I have described the evils of yesterday, but those of to-day far surpassed them, particularly to our people, as the rain is what they dread most, from its frequently causing illness among them. We have several already who complain of fever. At five we got round the rocky point of Terriagully by hawling; and by six, were safe in a small bay near one of the tannahs. We gave a supper to all our attendants, amounting to above one hundred, for the sum of eight rupees. We made this day eight coss.

September 28.—The night was damp and unpleasant, with a swell that kept the boat perpetually striking against the shore. By half after five we got off. The current was extremely rapid, and soon carried us round the point of Siceligully, where the river opens into the largest extent I have yet seen. It is three miles wide, and about ten coss in length. In this fresh water-sea we were overtaken by a gale of wind from the east, more violent than any we had yet experienced. About one the rain poured down in torrents, which calmed the wind, and rendered the river as smooth as glass; we consequently got on well and pleasantly, for the first time since we, four days ago, came in sight of these hills, which, however

they may improve the prospect, are almost as difficult to pass at this season as the Cape of Good Hope itself. Having left them behind, as the weather rapidly improved, our dandys recovered their spirits, and taking advantage of a fine moon, we went on till a quarter past seven, by which means we reached Najumahal, a journey of fifteen coss.

September 29.—After a cold and damp night we set off at half after five, and at eleven took our leave of the main stream of the Ganges, and entered a small branch which is called the Bogaretty: it forms, with the Jellinghy, an island, on which are situated Cosimbuzar and Moorshadabad. The river became gradually narrower and more rapid, its banks affording a richer scene of cultivation, and the numerous villages showing that we had returned to a civilized country. We passed Sooty at seven, and soon afterwards stopped for the night, having made about twenty-three coss.

September 30.—We departed at five, and reached Jungipore by seven, where I received from my friend Mr. Atkinson a box of insects, which he had taken the trouble to collect for me during my absence. Here also I met a hircarrah from Mr. Pattle, the Judge at Moorshadabad, inviting me to his house at that place. As we approached Moorshadabad, the banks of the river were gradually sloped to the water's edge; and where the current was very rapid, were protected by a fret-work of bamboos. The cocoa-nut-trees again made their appearance in considerable abundance, and several handsome pagodas were embosomed in the groves formed by them and the mangoes. The town extends for near five coss along each bank; but the buildings are in general bad, and the palace of the Nawaub is so insignificant that we passed it without observation.

The river was covered with boats; many of those used for pleasure resembled coffins, being painted black, with bands, and ornaments of gilding. I beheld, with more satisfaction, the numerous merchant vessels, which nearly lined the shore on each side, and gave incontrovertible proof of the flourishing trade of this Indian capital of Bengal. From the custom-house a boat came off with a book, in which we again inscribed our names. At six we entered a nullah, which is dry in the summer, but now has plenty of water, and which leads to the vicinity of Mr. Pattle's house. It was formerly the bed of the river, but a peninsula was cut through at a considerable expense, which has saved six miles of dangerous navigation. It has the appearance of a lake formed by Browne, with grass to the edge of the water, smooth as if fresh mowed, and covered with groves of mangoes, occasionally retiring a considerable way back, and leaving open lawns of the richest verdure. As there was no current, we did not reach the end till eight o'clock, when it was so late that we did not proceed to Mr. Pattle's, but slept in our boats.

October 1.—Mr. Pattle called on me at eight to conduct me to his house, where I took up my abode, after having been twenty-four days on the Ganges, during which time we made four hundred coss. The river was unusually low, or the current would have been stronger, and carried the boats at a much quicker rate.

I sent my compliments to the Nawaub, and the Munny Begum, which were returned by them in the course of the day. Mr. Pattle has fixed on to morrow to accompany me to the palace, and has engaged a proper suwarry to attend me.

October 2.—His Highness chose to receive us to breakfast at the late hour of half after eight o'clock, which, on account of the heat,

is most unpleasant. At eight we departed in Mr. Pattle's coach and four for the city. Near the palace our palanquins were waiting to convey us the rest of the way, where a carriage could not advance. We passed through a mass of ruins to a tolerably handsome flight of steps, which led to a large apartment, divided by pillars, with a verandah overhanging the river. This has been recently repaired; for when Lord Wellesley visited him, every beam was propped. The Nawaub advanced to meet me, embraced, and led me to a seat at his right hand. He is rather a handsome looking young man, and was plainly dressed in white muslin, with a rich string of emeralds round his neck, from the centre of which was suspended a very fine pearl; with four others of considerable magnitude at the end. He spoke but little, and is, I understand, a very reserved man. He inquired my age, where I had been, and when I meant to return home; but there was a considerable pause between each question. Roy Monick Chund, the old Begum's confidential and head servant, was presented to me. He has been thirty years in her service, and is a very able man, with a countenance intelligent and mild. He manages the old lady, who in her turn manages the Nawaub.

As soon as we decently could, I made a motion to retire. Attar and pawn were presented. The former he offered to help me to, which I declined, as a mark of inferiority I could not allow. He seemed surprised; but on my persevering, Mr. Pattle explained the circumstance, and he gave it to me to help myself. According to strict etiquette it ought to have been given me at the door, and standing, for the farther the advance before giving it, the higher the compliment. It is not the custom here to tender presents; his poverty would make it inconvenient.

From thence we walked through ruined gateways, and over heaps of rubbish, to the Munny Begum's, where we were received by two very fine boys, children of a man whom she adopted some time ago, when at mortal enmity with the Nawaub. He died soon afterwards, leaving these children, who, by the Mahomedan law, have every right as if naturally descended from her. She lives in a small garden of about an acre and a half, which, out of respect to Meer Jaffier's memory, she has not quitted since his death, which is now forty years. She conversed from behind a scarlet silk purdah, that was stretched across a handsome open room, supported by pillars. The whole had an appearance of opulence, and the boys were handsomely dressed. Her voice is loud and coarse, but occasionally tremulous. She owns to sixty-eight years of age. Mrs. Pattle, who has seen her, informs me that she is very short and fat, with vulgar, large, harsh features, and altogether one of the ugliest women she ever beheld. In this description, who would trace the celebrated nautch-girl of Mr. Burke? It is probable, the influence she acquired over her husband, was owing more to her intellectual than personal accomplishments: for she has a good understanding, though her temper is exceedingly violent. There is no doubt of her being rich; but what will become of her property is uncertain. Nothing can induce her to make a will: the very mention of a thing that insinuates a supposition of its being possible she can die, throwing her into a violent passion. These boys are her legal heirs; but the Nawaub is on the spot, and if not prevented by the British, will probably seize the whole. During the whole of our stay two minahs * were talking most incessantly, to the great delight of the old lady, who

* Birds that are taught to speak.

often laughed at what they said, and praised their talents. Her hookah filled up the intervals.

From thence we walked through another collection of ruins to the grandmother of the present Nawaub, where we were received by one of his brothers. The good lady was very talkative; complained of the weather, and the state of her garden and habitation, which were certainly bad enough. Our reception was the same as at the old Begum's. We did not stay ten minutes, pleading as an excuse for our haste the great heat of the day. Our last visit was to the Nawaub's mother, who lives in a wretched habitation. Here two of his illegitimate sons did the honours; the eldest of whom, about eleven, is a very stupid looking lad: but the youngest is more lively. His Highness thinks it beneath him to marry any woman of this country; and the princes of the upper provinces have heard too much of his poverty to be desirous of the connexion; indeed the expense of bringing a wife down would be more than he can afford. I confess I was a little amused with his vanity, when I recollected that about one hundred years ago, the founder of the family, Aliverdi Khan, was in the service of Mahommed Azim Shah, at Delhi. Our visit here was the shortest of all; and having received attar from the same stand, which had travelled with us the whole round, we departed for our carriage.

October 3.—His Highness the Nawaub had fixed on this morning to return my visit, and breakfast with me. Ten o'clock struck before we had any intimation of his approach, when a hircarrah arrived, and his drum was heard. His suwarry was extremely handsome, and well arranged. He was preceded by his elephants and camels, covered with scarlet cloths, and bearing flags; with a

long train of trumpeters, led horses, dragoons, and a company of sepoys. They were marshalled in proper divisions, and came on at a very slow pace. Immediately before him was a state palanquin, of the houdah shape, covered with crimson velvet, and embroidery. He himself was in another of the same make, but entirely cloth of gold, with pannels of glass, and doors of the same. It was certainly handsome, but must have been immoderately hot. The whole had a more princely appearance than I ever saw displayed, even by the Nawaub Vizier.

His Highness was in white, with the same emerald string round his neck, and in his turban a serpaish * to match it, the centre stone of which was the largest emerald I ever saw, an inch in height, and a full inch and a half in length: on it were engraved Persian characters, and around were flat diamonds, but of a handsome size. The pearl-string which fastened it on was also very valuable; and on his finger he had a single diamond ring, worth, I should suppose, at least ten thousand pounds. I was sorry afterwards to learn that all these jewels were only taken out of pawn for the occasion, and that the people who had them in pledge, were present to watch and receive them again on his departure. I met him at the bottom of the steps as he quitted his palanquin, and led him to his seat at the breakfast table. He was in very good humour, and made many enquiries of me respecting my family; what sons I had, and what brothers: to all I answered the truth; and he was amused with there being thirty-two years between me and my youngest brother. He ended by begging to hear from me of my health, which of course I promised. At eleven he took his leave, after receiving pawn and

* Ornament of jewels for the head.

attar. No presents were given, as he had tendered none to me. He would allow me to go no farther than the door, but Mr. Pattle and the other gentlemen attended him to the bottom of the steps. My opinion of him has improved much to-day. I was prepossessed in his favour, by learning that his private character is amiable, and his disposition benevolent.

The conduct of the East India Company to the descendants of Meer Jaffier has been by no means generous. When they first became Dewans of Bengal, in 1765, by the grant of Shah Allum, the allowance to the Nawaub was fixed at fifty-three lacs of rupees. In 1770, they induced his successor to submit to a reduction of twenty-three lacs; but not satisfied with this, the Directors, in the following year, ordered that only sixteen lacs should be paid; probably considering that as a sufficient allowance for a boy of ten years old. It would however be difficult to discover their authority for this act; and I am inclined to suspect that a legal right exists in the present Nawaub, to recover the immense arrears that have become due to his family within the last twenty-two years. The sixteen lacs, now allowed, are distributed among the descendants of Meer Jaffier, his Begums, and faithful servants. The Munny Begum has twelve thousand rupees per month. The present Nawaub's grandmother has eight thousand rupees per month. These sums, with the allowances to the branches of the family living at Calcutta, and to the aged servants, leave only to his Highness seventy-seven thousand rupees per month, to defray the expense of his zenana, durbar, and guards; and twelve thousand rupees per month for his private amusements and presents. The latter sum would be fully sufficient, were he not loaded with debt, the interest of which eats up the whole, and leaves

him in the greatest distress; but the former has been proved to be insufficient before commissioners, appointed by the Governor-General for the express purpose of investigating his situation. I am happy to find that his Excellency has determined to liberate him from his embarrassments, and that a complete repair of his palace has been ordered, and would have been carried into effect, had not the war rendered money so very scarce.

As soon as the Nawaub was out of sight, Mr. Pattle's carriage was at the door to convey us to Burhampore, whither our boats had proceeded early in the morning. The heat was very great, but his four horses soon brought us to the river side. At one we were under way; at two we entered a cut about a mile in length, made to avoid a long reach in the river. The current runs rapidly through it, and in a short time it will, without doubt, become the main channel. We got to the distance of two coss above Plassey by seven o'clock.

October 4.—We were in motion by five. The river is rapid and full up to its banks, but winds in a most singular manner. We got to a distance of about two coss below Ahgadeep by six o'clock, which in a straight line cannot be more than twelve coss, yet the meanders made it at least twenty. The country was very populous and cultivated. We stopped opposite an indigo plantation belonging to Mr. Birch, who resides at Hoogly. The planters in Bengal are this year very fortunate; the crops in the upper province having nearly failed, owing to the dry weather.

October 5.—At eleven we passed the mouth of the Jellinghy river, which is as large as the Cossimbuzar. The river was more meandering than ever. A very handsome Mussulmaun college was for three hours in sight, and bore from us at every point of the

compass during that time: a cut here, of a mile in length, would save several miles of navigation. At Culpa we first experienced the effects of the tide.

October 6.—We departed early, and by the assistance of the tide reached Hoogly at twelve, whence a stiff breeze from the N. E. carried us along for two hours, and gave me hopes that the monsoon had changed. Hearing that Lord Wellesley was at Barrackpore, I wrote to his Excellency to notify my approach, and to invite myself to dine with him. We dined in the Sonamooke, which was illuminated, as were the smaller boats that rowed round us during the whole evening, with a band in one of them, and the men in the other singing to the sound of their oars. The breeze was cool, and left nothing to be wished for as an addition to the fairy scene. As his Excellency's going to Calcutta was uncertain, and I intended to take my departure for Columbo by the first opportunity, I at parting took my leave of him with the most unfeigned gratitude for the numerous kindnesses I had received during my stay in Bengal.

October 7.—By ten we got to Chaupaul gaut, where we disembarked to go up the country. Mr. Graham's carriage was waiting, and conveyed us to his house at Chouringee

CHAPTER V.

Observations on the Town of Calcutta.—New Government House.—Population.—Increased Salubrity.—State of Society.—Manner of living.—Gaming.—Half-cast Children.—Generosity of European Inhabitants.—Supreme Court.—Church Establishment.—Proposed alterations.—Missionaries.—Mahomedans.—Christians of St. Thomé.—College of Calcutta—Objections to the reduction thereof.

CHAPTER V.

CALCUTTA.

THE town of Calcutta is at present well worthy of being the seat of our Eastern Government, both from its size, and from the magnificent buildings which decorate the part of it inhabited by Europeans. The Citadel of Fort William, commenced by Lord Clive, immediately after the battle of Plassey, is a very fine work, but greatly too large for defence. The esplanade leaves a grand opening, on the edge of which is placed the new Government House erected by Lord Wellesley, a noble structure, although not without faults in the architecture; and, upon the whole, not unworthy of its destination. The sums expended upon it have been considered as extravagant by those who carry European ideas and European economy into Asia; but they ought to remember, that India is a country of splendor, of extravagance, and of outward appearances: that the Head of a mighty empire ought to conform himself to the prejudices of the country he rules over; and that the British, in particular, ought to emulate the splendid works of the Princes of the House of Timour, lest it should be supposed that we merit the reproach which our great rivals, the French, have ever cast upon us, of being alone influenced by a sordid, mercantile spirit. In short, I wish India to be ruled from a palace, not from a counting-house;

with the ideas of a Prince, not with those of a retail dealer in muslins and indigo.

On a line with this edifice is a range of excellent houses, chunamed, and ornamented with verandahs. Chouringee, an entire village of palaces, runs for a considerable length at right angles with it, and, altogether, forms the finest view I ever beheld in any city. The Black Town is as complete a contrast to this as can well be conceived. Its streets are narrow and dirty; the houses, of two stories, occasionally brick, but generally mud, and thatched, perfectly resembling the cabins of the poorest class in Ireland.

Twenty years ago, during a famine, the population of Calcutta was estimated at 500,000. I have little doubt that it now amounts to 700,000. The most remarkable sight of the kind I ever beheld was the throng that fills these streets in an evening. I drove for three miles through them without finding a single opening, except what was made by the servants preceding the carriage. The Strand in London exhibits nothing equal to it, for the middle is here as much crowded as the sides. In the year 1742, the Mahratta ditch was commenced, to protect the inhabitants from the incursions of that Power, then ravaging the whole of Bengal, and besieging Aliverdi Khan in his capital of Moorshadabad. It was intended to surround the whole of our territories, a circumference at that time of not more than seven miles; yet now it scarcely forms the boundary of this capital of our Eastern possessions. The first fort was erected here in 1696. Our factories were then at Hoogly, but were moved two years afterwards. This little fort, which fell through the cowardice of its governor, and the want of military knowledge in the remaining officers, into the hands of Seraja-ud-Dowlah, in

1757, is now used as a custom-house; and that spot, which could then hold our trade, our military stores, and a great part of the inhabitants, is now too small for the convenience of our revenue officers. The Black Hole is now part of a godown, or warehouse: it was filled with goods, and I could not see it. A monument is erected facing the gate, to the memory of the unfortunate persons who there perished. It also records the infamy of those, who, by removing their ships from the vicinity of the fort, left so many brave men at the mercy of a madman.

The air of Calcutta is much affected by the closeness of the jungle around it. The natives have formed a complete belt, which commences near the town, and extends in every direction full four miles deep. This is planted with fruit-trees, and is completely impervious to the air. The country is a perfect flat, every where intersected by nullahs, and here and there a small lake, rendering the plantations more insalubrious. Lord Wellesley has made one or two wide roads through the middle, which, I am informed, has sensibly improved the atmosphere. More ought to be made, and, if possible, the marshes should be drained: this would improve the roads, which, in general, are very bad, impeding the conveyance of provisions to market. The place is certainly less unhealthy than formerly, which advantage is attributed to the filling up of the tanks in the streets, and the clearing more and more of the jungle; but in my opinion it is much more owing to an improved knowledge of the diseases of the country, and of the precautions to be taken against them; and likewise to greater temperance in the use of spirituous liquors, and a superior construction of the houses. Consumptions are very frequent among the ladies, which I attribute

in great measure to their incessant dancing, even during the hottest weather. After such violent exercise they go into the verandahs, and expose themselves to a cool breeze and damp atmosphere.

A quay has lately been formed in front of the Custom-house, and promises to be a great improvement. Many objections have been made to its erection, probably by interested persons. It is asserted that vessels cannot lie close to it with safety, as a north-wester, or gale from any quarter, may drive them against it; but it is obvious that the same force would drive them on shore, were the quay out of the way. The expense of unshipping the ladings was enormous, and will be completely obviated if the plan of embankment is carried the whole length of the town. This is now in agitation, and I hope will be resolved upon. It has been said that sand will accumulate against it; which seems to me an extrordinary idea, since I conceive the current will not fail to keep it clear, and that the only danger is of its being undermined. An extension of the Custom-house itself, and of its establishment, will soon be necessary; at present the delay is considerable from the vast increase of traffic.

Since I left Calcutta in March, the iron rails round the Government House have been finished. The space now to be cleared will certainly have a noble effect; and the Writers' buildings being newly repaired, form a good object from the end of the street that leads from the northern front. These buildings would have been bought by Government for the purpose their name imports, but too much money was asked for them.

The society of Calcutta is numerous and gay; the fetes given by the Governor-General are frequent, splendid, and well arranged. The Chief Justice, the Members of Council, and Sir Henry Russel,

each open their houses once a week for the reception of those who have had the pleasure of being presented to them. Independently of these, hardly a day passes, particularly during the cool season, without several large dinner parties being formed, consisting generally of thirty or forty: the convivial hospitality which prevails on these occasions would render them extremely pleasant, were they more limited; but a small and quiet party seems unknown in Calcutta. A Subscription Assembly also exists, but seems unfashionable; it is however the only place of public amusement, and I see no hopes of any other being established; for the fashionable world of Calcutta is unfortunately so divided into parties, that it is improbable any plan of public amusement could be brought forward which would not meet with opposition.

It is usual in Calcutta to rise early, in order to enjoy the cool air of the morning, which is particularly pleasant, before sun-rise. At twelve they take a hot meal, which they call tiffing, and then generally go to bed for two or three hours. The dinner hour is commonly between seven and eight, which is certainly too late in this hot climate, as it prevents an evening ride at the proper time, and keeps them up till midnight, or later. The viands are excellent, and served in great profusion, to the no small satisfaction of the birds, and beasts of prey, to whose share a considerable proportion of the remains fall; for the lower order of the Portuguese, to whom alone they would be serviceable, cannot consume the whole; and the religious prejudices of the native servants prevent them from touching any thing that is not drest by their own cast. To this circumstance is to be attributed the amazing flocks of crows and kites, which, undisturbed by man, live together in amicable society,

and almost cover the houses and gardens. In their profession of scavengers, the kites and crows are assisted during the day by the adjutant-bird, and at night by foxes, jackals, and hyenas, from the neighbouring jungles. The wines chiefly drank are Madeira and claret; the former, which is excellent, during the meal; the latter, afterwards. The claret being medicated for the voyage, is too strong, and has little flavour.

The usual mode of travelling is by palanquins, but most gentlemen have carriages adapted to the climate, and horses, of which the breed is much improved of late years. It is universally the custom to drive out between sun-set and dinner. The mussalchees, when it grows dark, go out to meet their masters on their return, and run before them, at the rate of full eight miles an hour, and the numerous lights moving along the esplanade produce a singular and pleasing effect. It was formerly the fashion for gentlemen to dress in white jackets on all occasions, which were well suited to the country; but being thought too much an undress for public occasions, they are now laid aside for English cloth. The architecture of all the houses is Grecian, which I think by no means the best adapted to the country, as the pillars, which are generally used in the verandahs, require too great an elevation to keep out the sun, during the greater part of the morning and evening, although the heat is excessive at both those periods. In the rainy season it is still worse, as the wet beats in, and renders them totally useless. The more confined Hindoo or Gothic architecture, would surely be preferable.

On Lord Wellesley's first arrival in this country, he set his face decidedly against horse-racing, and every other species of gambling;

yet at the end of November, 1803, there were three day's races at a small distance from Calcutta. Very large sums were betted, and of course were lost by the inexperienced. There are a few steady and practised gamblers, who encourage every species of play among the young servants of the Company, and make a considerable profit by their imprudence. As those are marked characters, I wonder they are not sent away.

The most rapidly accumulating evil of Bengal is the increase of half-cast children. They are forming the first step to colonization, by creating a link of union between the English and the natives. In every country where this intermediate cast has been permitted to rise, it has ultimately tended to the ruin of that country. Spanish America and St. Domingo are examples of this fact. Their increase in India is beyond calculation; and though possibly there may be nothing to fear from the sloth of the Hindoos, and the rapidly declining consequence of the Mussulmauns, yet it may be justly apprehended that this tribe may hereafter become too powerful for control. Although they are not permitted to hold offices under the Company, yet they act as clerks in almost every mercantile house, and many of them are annually sent to England to receive the benefit of an European education. With numbers in their favour, with a close relationship to the natives, and without an equal proportion of that pusillanimity and indolence which is natural to them, what may not in time be dreaded from them? I have no hesitation in saying that the evil ought to be stopt; and I know no other way of effecting this object, than by obliging every father of half-cast children, to send them to Europe, prohibiting their return in any capacity whatsoever. The expense that would

thus attend upon children, would certainly operate as a check to the extension of zenanas, which are now but too common among the Europeans; and this would be a benefit to the country, no less in a moral, than in a political view.

After making these observations, I turn with much satisfaction to the brighter parts of the character of my Eastern countrymen. I can truly affirm, that they are hospitable in the highest degree, and that their generosity is unbounded. When an officer of respectability dies, in either the civil or military service, leaving a widow or children, a subscription is immediately set on foot, which in every instance has proved liberal, and not unfrequently has conferred on the parties a degree of affluence, that the life of the husband or parent could not for years have insured them. The hearts of the British in this country seem expanded by opulence: they do every thing upon a princely scale; and consequently do not save half the money that might be done with a narrower economy. The beginning, however, of a fortune being once made, it collects as rapidly as a snow ball. In seven years, or less, a capital is doubled; so that ten thousand rupees given to a child at birth, is a handsome independence by the time it arrives at the age of twenty one.

The Supreme Court is held in deserved repute, and the business is conducted with due decorum. The chief Interpreter has been permitted to act as a police magistrate, in consequence of which his deputy sometimes appears in causes, the importance of which calls loudly for his master. The Court, when I was there, was once delayed two hours by a confusion of the terms *repaid*, and *advanced*, made by this man, in a cause which General Martin's executors

were defendants. I had the satisfaction of hearing the Court order them to pay two lacs and a half to the plaintiff, a shroff of Lucknow. The affair was one of the General's frauds, who had borrowed the money of him, and several other natives, to lend it to Asoph-ud-Dowlah; and on his being repaid, he refused to return them their share; and they dared not complain, as the Nawaub would instantly have seized it. They, however, kept his bond, and recovered on it with interest.

It will hardly be believed that in this splendid city, the head of a mighty Christian empire, there is only one church of the establishment of the mother country, and that by no means conspicuous, either for size or ornament. It is also remarkable, that all British India does not afford one Episcopal See, while that advantage has been granted to the province of Canada; yet it is certain that from the remoteness of the country, and the peculiar temptations to which the freedom of manners exposes the clergy, immediate Episcopal superintendance can no where be more requisite. From the want of this it is painful to observe, that the characters of too many of that order, are by no means creditable to the doctrines they profess, which, together with the unedifying contests that prevail among them even in the pulpit, tend to lower the religion, and its followers, in the eyes of the natives of every description. If there be any plan for conciliating the minds of the natives to Christianity, it is so manifestly essential it should appear to them in a respectable form at the seat of Government, that I presume all parties will allow, that the first step should be to place it there upon a proper footing.

Since my return to England, I find that an Episcopal establish-

ment for India, upon a very large scale, has been publicly recommended by the Rev. Dr. Buchanan. Were its expediency in other respects agreed upon, I fear the present state of the revenue in that country, would render such a serious addition to the expenditure, unjustifiable; but the maintenance of one Bishop could not reasonably be objected to; for, with a revenue of eleven millions, it becomes a duty to appropriate a part to religious purposes, and not a mere consideration of eligibility; I therefore concur with the Doctor, in an earnest wish that such an appointment should take place without delay. In the contemplation of such a measure, I shall state my ideas relative to the situation, authority, and duties of a Bishop for India.

I conceive it to be essentially requisite that the person appointed to this sacred office, should devote himself to it for life, renouncing every expectation of returning to England in advanced years, and enjoying himself in indolence upon a pension. He should consider the tie connecting him with his diocese as indissoluble, and place all his felicity in performing his duties with fidelity and honour. He should be free from the rage of proselyting, that he may be able to observe with impartiality the conduct of those whose zeal leads them to attempt the conversion of the Hindoos, and that he may prevent a recurrence of that violation of their prejudices, which has so recently been practised by some of the Missionaries; a conduct highly reprehensible, which, if persevered in, will certainly induce them to decline all instruction, if it does not provoke them to expel the British from India. He should be invested with the full power of suspending and ordering home any of his delinquent clergy, without which it would be impossible for him to maintain

effectual discipline; and if a right of appeal against his sentence were thought advisable to be granted, it should be either to an Archbishop, or to the King in council; since a power of reversal lodged in the India Company might be found as detrimental in ecclesiastical, as it is in civil affairs. Even delicacy should induce them to decline it, since it is scarcely possible that all could be unprejudiced judges in the case of a person appointed by themselves.

I should be much inclined to urge the propriety of extending to the whole clergy of India the principle of perpetual residence; but in order to induce men of real merit to accept of an office requiring them to abandon the hopes of returning to their native country, a stipend should be annexed to it, sufficient to enable them to support a mode of living correspondent to their dignity, and make an adequate provision for their families. If a pension were allowed for the widows, it would be an additional motive to the truly respectable, and would render a large salary less necessary.

In every view, political as well as religious, it is highly desirable that men of liberal education and exemplary piety should be employed; who, by their manners, would improve the tone of society in which they lived, and by the sacredness of their character operate as a check on the tendency to licentiousness that too frequently prevails.

The splendour of Episcopal worship should be maintained in the highest degree our church allows. On the natives of India, accustomed to ceremonial pomp, and greatly swayed by external appearances, it would impress that respect for our religion, of which, I am sorry to say, they are chiefly by our neglect of it at

present destitute. The natural effect of which has been to excite a doubt in the minds of the Hindoo, of our own belief in that faith, we are so anxious to press upon him.

The native inhabitants of Calcutta may, indeed, from the sight of one solitary church, believe that we have a national religion, but I know of nothing that can give this information to the rest of our Eastern subjects. Whilst the Mussulmaun conquerors of India have established mosques in every town of their dominions, the traveller, after quitting Calcutta, must seek in vain for any such mark of the religion of their successors.

Another great obstacle to the reception of Christianity by the Hindoos, is the admission of the Parias into our church, among whom the chief conversions have been made, since nothing can be more shocking to their ideas than the equality thus produced between the higher and lower casts. As long as this distinction continues to exist, it will be impossible to obliterate such notions; and any innovation attempted by Government in this respect, would be resisted by the utmost force of prejudice.

Although the Hindoos have adopted from us, various improvements in their manufactures of salt-petre, opium, and indigo, and have made rapid advances in the knowledge of ship-building, practical mathematics, and navigation; yet none of these acquirements have interfered with their religious prejudices. The instant these are touched, they fly off from all approximation to their masters, and an end is put to farther advancement. Nothing is therefore more to be avoided than alarming their jealousy on this head, and exciting the suspicion that Government means, in any manner, to interfere in the business of proselyting. The Brahmins

are a very powerful body; they are both an hereditary nobility, and a reigning hierarchy, looked up to with the highest veneration by the inferior casts, and possessed of the most distinguishing privileges: they will consequently oppose with their whole influence any attempt to subvert that system, upon which all their superiority depends. They have already taken alarm at the proceedings of the Missionaries in Bengal, and other parts; and, if driven to extremities, will doubtless excite a formidable disaffection to our Government among the natives. On the contrary, the former wise policy of treating them with respect, and giving a full toleration to their superstitions, was often attended with the happy effect of making them the instrument of enforcing useful regulations in the country; for they have never scrupled, when required, giving a sanction to the orders of Government to suppress hurtful practices, as in the case of the sacrifice of children at Sorgur, and in many other instances. We should also be aware that, although the comparison between the Mussulmaun intolerance, and our contrary spirit, was so much in our favour, as to have had a powerful efficacy in attaching them to the British Government, knowing that they had only a choice of masters; yet were this difference of policy taken away, their habits and manners, which are more congenial to those of the Mussulmauns, would probably induce them to prefer their government to ours.

That the success of the Missionaries in China, Japan, and other places, should have been brought forward by people unacquainted with India, as an argument of the probable conversion of the Hindoos, is not surprising; but that it should have been urged by "a late resident in Bengal," does indeed astonish me; for what

analogy is there between these countries and India? There was no loss of cast, no civil disqualifications, no dread of future punishment, to prevent the Chinese, the Japanese, or the inhabitants of the Philippine Islands from becoming Christians; yet all these impediments are in the way of the Hindoo; and I confess I believe them unconquerable.

The conversions made by the Mahommedan sovereigns of India have also been quoted; but as these are admitted to have been merely the effect of the utmost violence and oppression, they can hardly be used as an argument of the practicability of conversion by any other means; and I trust they are not brought forward as an indirect recommendation of the coercive system of the Rev. Dr. Buchanan.

The conversion of the Christians of St. Thomé has also been mentioned; but the remote date of the period when it occurred, leaves us obscurely informed of the circumstances by which it was attended: we learn, however, that the Missionaries appeared in an humble condition, not likely to excite alarm or jealousy in the ruling powers of the country, who were then Hindoos. With respect to the later conversions by the Jesuits and other Catholic missionaries, besides their employing artifices which, it is presumed, would not be adopted by Protestants, the accounts of their extraordinary success cannot be credited, without admitting, on the same authority, the miracles of St. Francis Xavier and others, by which it is said to have been promoted.

The advocates for conversion seem to dread the force of the argument that may be brought against them from the former failure of the Mussulmauns to convert their Hindoo subjects, and the more

recent failure of the Catholic and other missionaries; they therefore wish to argue, that, "something inefficient or unsuitable has entered into all their measures;" but is it not more reasonable to suppose that there are insurmountable obstacles in the habits, laws, and religious prejudices of the inhabitants, that have prevented the pure doctrines of Christianity from having the same force over the minds of the Indians that they acquired over the Japanese, Chinese, and other nations? Has not the Mussulmaun religion met with the same resistance from its first appearance, through the plenitude of its power, to its present decay? The Sultauns found they could destroy their subjects, they could raze their temples, but they could not convert them; not from any antipathy to the religion of their masters, but from an attachment to their own. Yet we should remember, that the Sultauns had advantages that we have not; they had a real, a physical power in the country, which rendered them superior to any risk of rebellion.

Very little encouragement is afforded therefore by past experience to expect that the future exertions of Missionaries should prove successful in converting the Hindoos from a religion to which they are so bigottedly attached, and which is interwoven with their whole civil polity; while the danger of such attempts, if apparently favoured by the British Government, is manifest and urgent.

I cannot forbear expressing my dissent from an opinion supported by Dr. Buchanan and other advocates for conversion, that if the Hindoos were to become Christians, they would be better subjects to the British dominion. I have no doubt that should this point be attained, they would presently cease to be subjects altogether. At present the Hindoo is irrevocably bound by the law of casts, to

continue in that situation in life to which he is born, and no exertion of talent can raise him one step beyond it: he therefore looks with perfect apathy on the political intrigues of the higher orders, and dreads a revolution as productive of great personal distress, and as putting to hazard his life and little property. But were the path of ambition laid open to him by that equalization which would be the consequence of the destruction of casts, and the general reception of Christianity; talents would have their free career, and every man of spirit would consider himself as the establisher of his own fortune. Is it credible, then, that in such an event, so many millions of natives would submit to be governed by a few thousand Europeans, to whom they could feel no natural attachment, or obligation of allegiance?

Upon the whole, I am fully persuaded that the first step to be taken is that of rendering our own religion respectable in the eyes of our Indian subjects, by an establishment of greater splendour and dignity, and especially by a better choice and more vigilant inspection of the regular clergy; and that Government should studiously avoid interesting itself in the conversion of the natives, since it is impossible that they should not connect in their minds the zeal of proselyting, exerted by those in power, with a plan of coercion and intolerance. If placing in the hands of the Hindoos translations of the Scriptures into the languages of the country, will not induce them to make unfavourable comparisons between our lives and our doctrines, and consequently expose us to contempt, no objection can be made to such a dissemination of the principles of true religion. To its silent operation the cause of Christianity should be left, and who will not rejoice in its success?

The splendid Institution established at Fort William by the Marquis Wellesley, for the education of the junior European servants of the Company, is now no more; and it is ever to be regretted that so magnificent and useful a plan should have been abandoned from interested motives, that would better have become the little spirit of a retail dealer, than the liberal policy which ought to actuate the government of a powerful empire. Indeed, when we consider the magnitude of our Indian possessions, their immense importance to Great Britain, and the difficulties which must arise in administering justice throughout so extensive an empire, it is obvious that the Company is bound, by a sacred duty, to provide for the welfare of its subjects by an unremitting attention to the education of those servants, who will be appointed to employments that can be entrusted with safety only to men of abilities, extensive information, and unsullied integrity. Nor will these qualifications alone enable them to discharge the duties which their situation imposes; they must also possess a thorough knowledge of the different languages of the natives, an intimate acquaintance with their tempers and characters, and a clear insight into their various manners, habits, and customs.

To form characters at once combining so many virtues and acquirements, is a task of considerable difficulty, even under the most favourable circumstances, and can only be accomplished by a scrupulous attention to the early education of those ultimately destined to take so large a share in the government of India. Obvious as this reflection must appear to every thinking mind, it is somewhat singular, and greatly to be regretted, that the India Company should, for so long a period, have delayed the formation

of any establishment tending to regulate the morals, and instruct the understandings of its junior servants, and to prevent the recurrence of those irregularities and excesses, which have formerly disgraced the annals of our Indian history. Considering all the disadvantages under which the young writers laboured, and the many powerful temptations to which they must necessarily have been exposed, it is not so much matter for astonishment that numbers should have fallen, as that any individuals should have been found able to encounter them. That many such characters have been formed in India is incontrovertible; but it is also not less strictly true, that, generally speaking, the licentiousness and incapacity of the Company's civil servants had long continued an evil of serious magnitude, loudly calling for reform. It cannot however be denied, that, in spite of the many abuses which existed from the want of education and capacity in those invested with the magistracy of the country the situation of those provinces, where the administration of the Government had been chiefly confided to Europeans, was, under every disadvantage, happier and more flourishing than the situation of those principally ruled by native authorities. The judicious policy of Marquis Cornwallis, which prompted him to extend this system throughout the provinces of Bengal, is therefore deserving of praise, though it is to be lamented that the same policy did not also induce him to institute some regular mode of education, calculated to qualify the European civil servants for those important posts which they were destined to occupy. It is true, indeed, that under his Lordship's Government, the comparatively small extent of our Indian possessions might not perhaps require so comprehensive an establish-

ment, as the one which the Marquis Wellesley so ably conceived, and carried into execution a few years afterwards, when the very great enlargement of our Indian dominions, and their encreased importance to the British empire, rendered it absolutely necessary that some system should be adopted likely to insure the inhabitants of so large a portion of Asia an equitable dispensation of the laws.

To effect so desirable a purpose, became a principal object with the Marquis Wellesley during his government of India. His penetrating and expanded genius readily perceived the immense political importance of such a measure, and its tendency to promote the advantage and ultimate happiness of the individuals themselves, for the regulation of whose education and conduct he was solicitous to provide. He saw that our Indian possessions had gradually arisen, from an insignificant trading settlement, to a mighty empire, extending over vast tracts of country, abounding with inhabitants, and producing yearly a revenue of sixteen millions; which clearly pointed out the justice of appropriating a portion of this enormous sum for the benefit of the dominions whence it was derived.

Without entering into the narrow spirit of mercantile calculation, he did not so much considerwhat the Company might feel disposed to afford, as what it ought to afford; and though he studiously endeavoured to avoid incurring all unnecessary expense in the accomplishment of his design, he was nevertheless desirous of placing it on a footing suitable to the dignity of the empire, and calculated to meet the exigencies of the occasion.

In establishing the College at Fort William, the Marquis Wellesley

appears to have had two grand objects in view: to watch over, and improve, the characters of the junior civil servants, and to afford them that peculiar species of education, which could alone qualify them for discharging the complicated duties of their station. To effect either of these purposes, it became absolutely necessary that some kind of control should be acquired over the young men, which could not be more unexceptionably and effectually obtained than by subjecting them to the confinement of a public institution, and placing them under the guidance and authority of a provost, and such other officers as it might be judged expedient to appoint. Without some powerful restrictions of this nature, it would have proved totally impracticable to keep a number of inconsiderate young men within the due bounds of restraint.

The inadequacy of a more limited scheme has been unfortunately experienced, from the small portion of Lord Wellesley's plan still suffered to exist, which, though certainly useful in facilitating the acquirement of the native languages, is lamentably defective in all those essential purposes it was originally intended to answer; especially with regard to its most important object, of preserving the young men from the many temptations and dangers by which they must necessarily be assailed on their arrival in such a country as India, with no greater degree of experience than usually falls to the lot of school-boys, and in full possession of a splendid income, in the expenditure of which they are absolutely uncontrolled.

At the present time, there are few of these young men who do not keep their horses, commonly their curricles, and in many instances

their race-horses, which, together with the extravagant parties and entertainments frequent among them, generally involves them in difficulties and embarrassments at a very early period of their lives. The enormous expenses attendant upon these and similar irregularities, are much too considerable to be defrayed even by the princely allowance which the writers enjoy from the moment of their arrival in India. To support this profuse manner of living, they are compelled to borrow large sums, at an exorbitant interest, of the Dewan, who is frequently a native of rank, and acts as a species of upper servant. These men, deeply versed in all the mazes of Oriental subtlety, gradually insinuate themselves into the favour of their masters, and by encouraging their follies, and artfully supplying the means of dissipation, insensibly plunge them in almost inextricable dfficulties, and eventually succeed in getting into their own hands the sole management of the writer's affairs.

While the young man remains in an inferior situation, the debt to the Dewan continues to encrease, from additional advances, and the rapid accumulation of interest; and when the higher appointments at length become open, it takes years to clear off the embarrassments incurred by early extravagance.

It is fortunate, if, in the eagerness to free himself from his incumbrances, he be not induced to connive at the misconduct of the Dewan, and even to participate in the illegal profits, with which the latter is ever ready to allure him; and though a large majority of those who arrive at the higher stations, pass through them with unsullied integrity, perfectly satisfied with the liberal allowances attached to their situation, and requiring no other

inducement than their own sense of right, to keep them from every thing approaching to dishonour, yet it is nevertheless certain, that some are still found unable to resist the temptation. Whenever this deviation from the paths of rectitude has unfortunately occurred, it has uniformly originated in the misconduct of the young writer on his arrival in the country, and his consequent dependence upon his Dewan.

The most effectual mode of remedying this evil, is to place the young man in a situation where his conduct, and expenses, would be subject to the inspection and control of respectable persons, selected with judgment for the important office. Under such circumstances, the employment of a Dewan ought to be prohibited, and disobedience rendered liable to immediate detection and punishment. Had Lord Wellesley's plan of a College been acceded to, this desirable end would have been attained, and the young men subject to the restrictions and discipline of such an Institution would no longer have met with those facilities in raising money with which their present situation so often presents them. They must, in consequence, have been obliged to confine their expenditure to the liberal allowance of the East India Company, till called to the higher appointments, when, unincumbered in their affairs, and uncorrupted in their minds, they might rapidly and honestly have acquired, at an early period of their lives, that opulence which would ensure them affluence and comfort in their native country. This important object would also have been promoted by the early age at which the writers, when subject to collegiate restrictions, might have been sent to India; they might have gone at the tender age of fifteen, or even fourteen; and this would have enabled them to

return in the prime of life, with constitutions unimpaired, and habits uncontaminated by the luxuries of Asia.

In a political point of view, the advantages resulting from the proposed regulations would have been equally important, and must considerably have assisted the grand object of the judicious policy of England, to prevent colonization in all her Eastern settlements; since nothing could have a stronger tendency to hinder the Europeans from establishing themselves in India, than the prospect thus held out to them of a speedy return to their native climate, while the scenes of youthful days were fresh in their remembrance, and the ties of friendship, and of kindred, neither broken nor forgotten.

The great facility with which a knowledge of Oriental literature, and the customs, and laws of the natives might be acquired in India, compared with the acquisition of similar attainments in England, is too obvious to need discussion; and considering it was the intention of Lord Wellesley, that all the Presidencies of our Eastern empire should be equally benefited by his establishment, the consequent charges ought not to have created an objection. These had been in a great measure already defrayed, and the funds, which he proposed to appropriate for that express purpose, were fully competent to answer every future demand; yet it appears by the official documents of the Court of Directors, that the dread of incurring expense formed the chief and almost sole reason for abolishing an Institution, "which," it was admitted, "would under other circumstances have been thought deserving of the most serious consideration."

Since the above was written, a College has been established at Hertford, on a plan somewhat similar to that at Calcutta, which must be considered as an acknowledgment, that the principle of

Marquis Wellesley was correct; and it is a little singular that, although the exhausted state of the Company's finances was declared to be the immediate occasion of the rejection of his Lordship's plan, much heavier expenses have been incurred by the present scheme than would have attended the completion of the former, without having in any respect answered the important objects, which originally suggested the expediency of its adoption. This failure is by no means to be attributed to the gentlemen appointed to superintend the College, many of whom are men of great talents and knowledge; and it is only to be regretted, that their exertions are not employed at the place where alone they can be of essential service—at Calcutta.

In England their efforts are completely thrown away, as the students, during a few months residence in India, would gain a greater insight into the necessary branches of Eastern literature, than the study of many years in this country could afford; and with respect to the customary acquirements of classical education, the pupils had equal opportunities of previously attaining them at any of our public schools.

The School attached to the College is almost too insignificant to deserve mention. Where can masters be procured qualified to teach the different languages of the East? Will the menial servants of gentlemen returned from India be appointed? Can such men be supposed competent to so important an undertaking? If not, where then are masters to be procured? The whole appears to have been a mere pretext for the extension of patronage, unless indeed it was intended as a seminary for missionaries, a purpose it has been publicly recommended to answer in a Prize Dissertation

by the Rev. Hugh Pearson, which, I am sorry to say, has been ushered into the world under the sanction of the University of Oxford.

Upon the whole, when we compare the respective systems of Marquis Wellesley, and the Court of Directors; when we consider how much in all probability would have been effected by the adoption of the one, and how very little the establishment of the other is likely to produce, even though attended with greater burthens, it is impossible for an unprejudiced mind to avoid a suspicion, that no small proportion of jealousy of his Lordship's administration was combined with the dread of incurring expense on the part of the Directors.



CHAPTER VI.

Sail from the Hoogly.—Voyage to Ceylon.—Arrival at Point de Galle.—Journey to Columbo.—Reception by Mr. North.—Cingalese Ball.—Political State of Ceylon with regard to Europeans.—Establishment of the British.—Circumstances in which the Hon. Mr. North assumed the Government.—Negotiations with the Chief Adigaar, with Observations.—Hostilities begun by the Candians.—Possession of Candy by the British Troops.—Elevation of Mootoo Sawmy.—Massacre of the English.—Effects of the Candian War.—Ideas on the Reduction of the Island.—Fortification of Columbo.—Eligibility of removing the Seat of Government to Galle.—Miscellaneous Remarks on Ceylon.—Casts of the Cingalese Malabars.—Malay Soldiers.—Manners and Character of the Cingalese.—State of Christianity.—Schools for the Natives.—Prospects of Conversion.—Abuses under the Dutch Government.—Abolition of Pensions, and its Effects.—Cinnamon.—Improvements in Agriculture suggested.—Clearing the Country.—Spirit of Mr. North's Administration, and prior Abuses.—English Society at Columbo —Manner of Living.—Jungle Fever.—Leprosy.—Want of Staff Surgeons, and Medical Stores.—Professor Thunberg.



CHAPTER VI.

December 6.—After various disappointments and changes of plan, I took my passage in the Olive, Captain Matthews, going with rice to Columbo. On the sixth of December, I went on board the Charles transport, for conveyance down the river, accompanied by Mr. Salt, and attended by my English servant, and a Portuguese, who was a native of Madras. Mr. Graham was so obliging as to join us in a vessel of his own. We weighed anchor at day-light, and proceeded on our way. We passed the remains of Fort Mornington, built at the junction of the Roopnaram with the Hoogly, for the purpose of commanding the navigation, but which has been abandoned in consequence of the unhealthiness of the situation. The former river here forms a very large sheet of water, but has many shoals; and as it directly faces the approach from the sea, whilst the Hoogly turns to the right, frequently occasions the loss of vessels, which are carried up it by the force of the tide. The eddy, caused by the bend in the Hoogly, has here formed the most dangerous sand in the passage to Calcutta, called the James and Mary, around which the channel is never the same for a week together. There is not probably a worse navigation in the world than that from Sorgur to Calcutta. It is so changeable, that every dry season a regular survey is obliged to be made, and even that is not sufficient to prevent accidents, though the pilots are skilful and well paid; for

two vessels that had been lost were lying on the shores as we passed down. I was informed they were both old and deeply laden; that the moment they struck there were no hopes of them; but that all the stores, &c. would be saved. The under-writers can well afford to pay for the *ad valorem* loss; they have been making fortunes since intelligence of war arrived, as the premium rose to ten per cent. and, the enemy having had no official intelligence of war, not a ship has been taken.

December 7.—At one P.M. we got to Kedgeree, where the Olive was at anchor waiting for us. Captain Matthews immediately came on board. After a cold and sorrowful meal, I took leave of my excellent and hospitable friend Mr. Graham, and removed to the Olive. We immediately set sail, and at night anchored at Sorgur.

December 15.—After seven days brisk sailing, with the monsoon in our favour, land was visible at noon from the deck, distant about nine leagues; a fragrant smell was wafted to that distance by the breeze that bore us rapidly along, without any unpleasant motion, under the lee of the island. The land was the Chimney Hill in Ceylon, backed by the interior mountains, covered with wood to their very summits. The shore has a bold appearance: by twelve, we were close to it, having passed the smaller Bassas, over which the sea was breaking with considerable violence.

December 16.—With light breezes we stood off and on, and about six, came to an anchor in six and a half fathoms; the rock called the Great Elephant bearing N. N. W. distant about four miles. The shore here is a gradual slope: in defiance of a heavy swell from the south, which made the ship roll most violently, we

continued to hold till morning, when we had very considerable difficulty in getting up the anchor, our wretched sailors having hardly sufficient strength, and we dragged into very shallow water. We worked very slowly along the shore, which is flat towards the sea, with now and then a prodigious rock rising out of the jungle. The beach is sand and rock. We passed the Great Bassas on our southern bow: it was so calm that the rocks were visible above the water, and very little surf was breaking on them. Latitude 6° 16′ north.

December 17.—We kept coasting along till evening with very little wind, and that, as usual, from the west of north. We were obliged to anchor for a short time with our kedge, but got under weigh by four in the morning: about ten we discovered the flag flying in the little fort of Hambangtotte, whence a boat came off with a note from the commanding officer, asking the usual questions whence we came, what was the name of the ship, and whether we had any news. This fort is prettily situated on a rock, and appears to have a bay close to it. The weather was uncommonly fine, and as the breeze had come round to its natural quarter at this season, the eastward, we made good way.

I had not hitherto seen a single cocoa-nut tree, nor any thing that looked like Asia. Some fishermen came off in their boats, but asked much too large a sum for their fish. More singular vessels I never beheld. It is impossible to describe them, but some idea of their construction may be formed from a sketch by Mr. Salt.

December 18.—From Hambangtotte there is some appearance of cultivation, and a beautiful green belt skirts the sea. The breeze carried us till evening towards Dundrahead: still no villages were visible. We went on during the whole night: towards morning a

very heavy fall of rain took place, and a dead calm obliged us to come to an anchor. On the fog clearing away about seven, we discovered Point de Galle, distant four miles, backed by a chain of round-topped hills covered to the summit with wood; and beyond them a still loftier range, with Adam's Peak rising to an acute point.* These appeared blue from the distance, and formed a noble back ground. The boat came off for the usual information about nine, and by her I wrote to the officer commanding at Point de Galle, requesting his assistance in proceeding to Columbo. The breeze was extremely light, but we weighed and stood in. The shore from the Great Basses is bold, with deep water, till you reach Point de Galle, which is protected by a reef of tremendous rocks; groves of cocoa-nut trees cover the beach to the water's edge. The equality of their height, when massed, renders them an ugly object at distance; but the elegance of their foliage on a nearer approach overcomes the dislike occasioned by their first appearance.

At twelve an answer was received from Lieutenant-Colonel Maddison of the sixty-fifth regiment, couched in very polite terms, offering me every assistance in my journey, and inviting me to the Government-house during my stay at Galle. I accepted this with pleasure, and immediately proceeded in a boat, with Mr. Salt. The landing place is perfectly protected from the swell, and is just below the gate of the fort. The batteries are very numerous, and completely command the approach by water. They are in the old fashioned style, elevated on walls. Colonel Maddison met me at the water's edge, and escorted me to his house, through a narrow and steep street. The houses are, of course, Dutch built, the rooms very large,

* Adam's Peak is in latitude 6° 49′ north, longitude 80° 19′ east of Greenwich.

and bricked, the walls very thick, and the cielings boarded. The windows have the upper parts glazed, the lower are occasionally shut in by lattices. I took possession of a suite of very excellent apartments, which Mr. North left but two days ago, on his way to Columbo. This information was doubly pleasing to me, as I found he would certainly be there to receive me, and that the country was passable. Colonel Maddison had the goodness to undertake to arrange every thing for my journey, in such a manner that I might leave this place on the 20th. The European society here is small: there are only three ladies, except the Dutch women, who still keep a good deal to themselves. This seems to be principally occasioned by their poverty. Mr. North and those under him do all they can to conciliate them. Whilst the Governor was here, the Colonel gave a grand ball, to which they were all invited, and danced till three in the morning. The fort is by far too extensive; it is situated on a neck of land, and nearly surrounded by the sea. The land-locked part of the bason is very small, but it secures a landing free from surf, which, when the wind has any thing south in it, beats with prodigious violence on the rocks that form the extreme end of the peninsula. On one of these is erected the flag-staff, which therefore, in fact, stands without the fort. The air is cooled by the sea breeze, and Colonel Maddison represents the place as tolerably healthy, and by no means so insalubrious as these places are, which are situated in the skirts of those lofty ranges, where the clouds, being first intercepted, fall in rain on the vallies. At present the cocoa-nut groves and jungle come too close to the water's edge, and the skirts of the town, for the air to be salubrious. There must be a complete clearing of the belt between the mountains and the sea,

before we can either reside in it, or even conquer it; otherwise it will ever continue a grave of Europeans. With this the Dutch were pleased; they considered it as an additional protection; and valued not the lives of thousands. To this circumstance alone I believe that Batavia owes its safety to the present moment. A canal had been dug between the bay and a small river, for the purpose of bringing timber down from the interior, but it is now in ruins.

December 19.—Mr. Salt went out in the palanquin, and took a view of the town, and another of the little canal above mentioned, which forms a most perfect tropical scene. In the evening I intended to drive out, but the rain came on so heavily about four o'clock, that I sat down to my journal, and completed it. Towards night the lightning was extremely vivid, and the crashes of thunder tremendous; and the more alarming here, from the circumstance, that the magazine is built in a very insecure place, without any protection from the lightning; even the Dutch themselves allow it is fortunate that the whole town has not been destroyed. There is no regular rainy season here; but from its situation, at the extremity of the peninsula, it gets a share of the rain of each coast, which falls in occasional storms at every part of the year. However, in general, more rain falls between November and February, than at any other time. The bread-fruit* tree grows to the size of the chesnut, and is altogether one of the most beautiful trees I have seen in Asia. Its produce is sufficient to supply the whole country; and even when Admiral Rainier was here, with several men of war, he was able to distribute a fruit daily to each man. We had here excellent yams, good sallading, and cucumbers.

* *Artocarpus incisa.*

The fruits were bad mangoes, guavas, custard-apples, cocoa-nuts, varieties of oranges, some of which were black on the outsides, and others the true mandarin, shaddocks, and several little fruits, of which I did not know the name. The mutton is indifferent, not being fed by the Europeans; but the beef, the poultry, the bread, and the fish, are excellent. At Galle is a very neat manufacture of tortoise-shell; I saw some boxes that were very beautiful.

December 20.—In this country there are no regular bearers laid at the different stages, but a sufficient number are taken from the place you depart from, who convey you the whole way. In order, however, to expedite the journey, Colonel Maddison had written to Columbo, to have a set sent off from that place to meet me at Bentotte, which is considered as half way. I brought with me my own palanquin and Mr. Salt's, and here procured the loan of a doolie for my servant. This is merely formed of bamboo covered with painted cloth: it is light, and swinging low, is easier than a palanquin. For the whole party we had fifty bearers, or boys, as they are called here. The palanquins they considered as so heavy that they fastened cross sticks under the pole, and by that means four of them were constantly employed behind, and as many before. This rendered the labour very light. The pay was one of their dollars and a half, or three shillings, to Bentotte, distant forty miles, which comes much cheaper than travelling in India. Our friends assured us that we should be about twenty-four hours on the way; we therefore determined to dine before our departure, which was also advisable, as it afforded more time for the roads to dry after the heavy rain of yesterday. Colonel Maddison gave me an escort of seven sepoys, and very politely escorted us himself to the

first river. The road was a good one for a gig (here called a bandy), the whole way to the Gendra river. it never quitted the sea shore, and wound along the bays, occasionally ascending and descending through the groves of cocoa-nut trees. The surface of the ground was covered by the Convolvulus pes-capræ, with its large and beautiful purple flowers. The jungle was loaded with creepers, amongst which the most common and most splendid was the Gloriosa superba. The cinnamon I occasionally observed, and many other plants, of which I had seen specimens in Europe; but those to which I was a stranger were vastly more numerous. The whole vegetation is infinitely more luxuriant than in Bengal, and forms thé richest field for a botanist that I ever beheld, except the Cape of Good Hope. My bearers went but slowly, not more than two miles an hour, so that I had plenty of time to make my observations as I passed. We arrived at the river before sun-set, where a boat was ready to take over the palanquins. It was formed of three of their canoes fastened together, with a platform over them. Mr. North had given orders for every attention to be paid to me, and I was consequently honoured with an awning of white cloth, and a chair covered with the same; a mark of distinction reserved for his Excellency, and the King of Candy. The posts which sustained the awning, and the railing that went round the boat, were fancifully ornamented with the young leaves of the cocoa-nut, split into pieces, which had altogether a pretty effect. The river was clear, and the bank was covered with jungle to the water's edge. We here took leave of our very kind friends, and proceeded in our palanquins to Hamblamgodee, where we arrived about eight o'clock. The country the whole way was undulated,

and occasionally broken by the most picturesque rocks; the vegetation as rich as ever, and the sea constantly close on our left hand. When it was dark, they made torches of the dead branches, or rather leaves, of the cocoa-nut: these burnt with rapidity and brilliancy, and had a beautiful effect, when reflected by the closely interwoven roof of lofty cocoa-nut trees, under which we were travelling.

The head Cingalese of the district met me in his dress of ceremony, which was introduced by the Dutch, and continued by us. It is of blue silk or stuff, made like an European coat, closed in the front with silver buttons and frogs; a silver sash over all; to which is suspended a small silver-mounted sword. There is no covering to the head: the hair is drawn close up with a tortoise-shell comb. A piece of coloured linen serves instead of breeches. He paid his respects, and laid a piece of white cloth from the palanquin to the house, where the chairs were covered with white. A portico had been erected a few days before for the Governor, and had been newly ornamented for me, with cocoa leaves. It now began to rain, and the thunder was loud, we therefore got the palanquins under shelter, and staid there till eleven o'clock. It would have been a desperate undertaking to have proceeded through the jungle without a light. As soon as it was clear we set off, with a fresh guard of sepoys; but the boys moved very slowly, the rain having made the road slippery. Whenever they thought me asleep they immediately stopped, for which reason we made but little way till morning. The night was cool, the breeze constantly coming from the sea, to which I knew we were always close, by the roar of the surf.

December 21.—I awoke about five, and for once found I was

moving on. We were winding among rocks, and I was instantly struck with the splendour of the Barringtonia in full bloom. The road occasionally quitted the sea-shore, and passed through some swampy jungle, where the vegetation was still more luxuriant, but the cocoa-nut trees in less abundance. Mr. Salt made several sketches.

We passed a river, covered with fishing boats, over a flat wooden bridge, not yet completed, and about twelve arrived at Bentotte, situated on the Aloot Gunga. Here we found a breakfast of bread, butter, eggs, and fruit, prepared in the portico of a house built by the Dutch for the reception of travellers. The Moodeliar and Post-master were waiting to receive me: the latter spoke a little English. At this place we were to have parted with our Galle boys, but as only thirty met us from Columbo, we were obliged to make twenty go on to Caltura, much against their inclinations, as they complained heavily of the weight of my palanquin. After passing this river in a similar manner to the last, we again set off, and for some time the road continued the same; at length we turned rather more into the country to avoid a head-land, and found the hills more frequent and steep: towards night we entered an avenue of most magnificent jack trees, which extended the whole way to Caltura. As soon as it was dark our usual torches were lighted, and the boys quickened their pace, making a most singular noise. One man gave me every title he could conceive, some few of which I could understand: I was the Lord Saib, Burrah Saib, Rajah Saib, Acha Lord Saib, and an infinity of other names that I had never before heard. After every proclamation of a title, the whole party gave a cry of approbation. We passed a temple of Buddha, erected for a festival given

by a native to his cast. It was of wood painted, very large and square, rising on the outside, like a pyramid, to a point. The old priest was at the door, with his head uncovered, to make his salaams. The procession of natives was moving towards it, every one with his basket of fruit; and at their gates were the Dutch and other inhabitants. My guard cleared the way for me without difficulty, and the native boys gave us cocoa-nut torches as we passed. Many at length joined the party with torches of their own, so that before I entered the town the road was perfectly illuminated. The cry of the bearers, the crowd, the splendour of the lights, rendered it altogether a most enchanting fairy scene, and left me no reason to regret that the darkness prevented me from examining the country around. I was received at the end of the town by Captain Macdowal, who commands there. He had a dinner prepared, and we were not sorry to clean ourselves and partake of it. We also procured twenty new bearers, and sent back the Galle boys. About eight we set off, Captain Macdowal attending us to the bank of the Caloo Gunga, which runs beneath the fort. It is one of the four rivers that take their rise from Adam's Peak. I understand that Caltura is one of the most beautiful places in the island; but the night permitted me only to observe that the fort is situated on a hill, that the river was broader than any other we had passed, and that the trees on its banks were of a very noble size. The Columbo boys made but little way during the night, as they were far inferior to those from Galle.

December 22.—It is but twenty-four miles from Caltura to Columbo, yet it was eleven o'clock before we arrived at a place where a road turns off to the cinnamon garden, three miles from the fort.

There we met a lascaryn (or native soldier) of the Governor's guard, with a note from his Excellency, informing me that he was sent to show me the way. The garden is in fact a jungle of cinnamon, and no otherwise interesting. By one o'clock I arrived at his Excellency's country-lodge at St. Sebastian's, situated very prettily on a fresh-water lake, that nearly insulates the fort, of which there is a pleasing view. The house is wretched, having been transformed into a habitation from a powder magazine; and within a hundred yards the Dutch had placed the powder mills, now likewise rendered habitable, where I immediately took up my residence. My reception from his Excellency was most kind and friendly; and, as an invalid, I was rejoiced to find myself in such comfortable quarters. I immediately placed myself under the care of Mr. Christie, the chief surgeon, a young man of very considerable talents, which have been employed for the benefit of the settlement during the very fatal time we have possessed it. I was obliged to confine myself in great measure to the house, where his Excellency contrived every possible amusement.

On Christmas-day the whole of the natives of rank came to pay their compliments to him: he detained them till I appeared, when he presented each to me. They all made the attempt to prostrate themselves and embrace my knees, but I raised them and gave each an embrace. The Maha Moodeliar was the highest native, and was dressed in blue silk with gold chains and medals; and most of them were in the same coloured dress, but only a few had the honorary badges. The Moors were in their white robes, with jewels in their ears. Several of the young Cingalese spoke English.

The next day we had a Cingalese play, if it can be so called.

First was a dance of children in a circle, making antic gestures, and striking little pieces of wood together: they were accompanied by a man playing on a tom-tom, to the blows of which they kept very good time with the voice. Next appeared a mask with horns, and other hideous accompaniments, who, the Maha Moodeliar informed me, was the Devil. Two still more hideous figures afterwards appeared, who were meant for his father and mother. These danced slowly, and sung to the same music, and threw about resin, which they set fire to with torches. The Devil's wife appeared, which I should conceive included the whole family party: a figure, however, came forward on stilts, with a Dutch coat on, and a Venetian mask; what he had to do there I could not learn, unless he was meant as an emblem of the Dutch being greater than the Devil, or that he was fit company for him, with either of which explanations I shall be satisfied. It now began to rain so heavily, that, as the actors were in the open air, we were obliged to give up this play. However, the Malabars attempted one of theirs in the verandah. We had only time to see a figure of a woman carrying her husband on her back, her head, and his legs, thighs, and rump, being artificial. This figure danced about till the water came in and put an end to the exhibition. Two days afterwards we attempted it again, when the Governor had unfortunately invited several ladies, who were pleased to fancy themselves so shocked by the appearance of some apparently naked savages, that we were obliged to prevent them from finishing a dance, which from the beginning I thought would have turned out good. We were next presented with a mask of princes and princesses hunting. A bear and stags came in with them, and were by no means ill imitated. The rain, however, again poured down in tor-

rents, and drove most of us away. The few who staid were again introduced to the double figure, but they were now in bed. The exhibition was represented as ludicrous, but not indecent.

An Arab ship came in soon after me, for Tellicherry, and as it was probable I might not meet with a better opportunity, I sent off my Portugueze servant with my baggage, and a letter to the Resident there, requesting him to assist in sending it to Mangalore. The Governor gave a ball to introduce me to the Dutch ladies, but they had taken prodigious offence at a character given of them in a work lately published by an English officer, and would not therefore visit an English Governor. The writer alluded to ought not, however, to have been blamed by them on this head, as every observation respecting the Dutch females is extracted from Admiral Stavorinus's account of the women at Batavia, and that, as nearly verbatim as the change of place would admit. He is in other instances under very large, though unacknowledged obligations to Stavorinus, whose work has very great merit; and several officers, who have visited the Spice Islands, assure me that it may be perfectly depended on in every thing that relates to them. These ladies had before a dispute with his Excellency, because he had presumed to ask them to a ball, before he had asked them to dinner. This horrible breach of etiquette they resented, but with little success; for he obliged them to yield, and then gave them a dinner. I was however disappointed, as hardly a lady came. The dancing-room was a long colonnade, which joins the magazine to the powder-mill, and is merely built of wood, thatched, with the sides open, and the roof supported by pillars; these were covered with the green leaves of the cocoa-nut tree in tiers one above another in such a

manner as completely to cover them. The ceiling was formed of white cloth, under which was a fret-work of moss sustained by strings, which had a very pretty effect, as the moss was most beautiful, and is not unaptly called by the natives the jeweller's sorrow, from his inability to imitate its delicate texture. Lamps were suspended the whole way, and others were placed among the trees; yet with all this it was not well lighted up, for the floor was too brown, and the green leaves too dark.

Being by indisposition much confined, I was able to collect many interesting particulars concerning the island, of which the following observations are the result.

Nothing can be more singular than the political state of Ceylon, since its coasts have been in the possession of Europeans. The native prince, in his capital of Candy, at the centre of the island, has been completely cut off from all connexion with other countries by the foreigners, who have enclosed him in a ring of their settlements, occupying the whole of the sea-coast; so that he has been obliged to ask their permission, even for bringing over from the Malabar coast a wife of his own cast, which, by the laws of his religion, he is bound to do. On the other hand, the Europeans, confined to their narrow slip of coast, have been debarred access to the interior, and deprived of any other communication between their settlements on the different sides of the island, than by sea, or the circuitous track round the shore.

It was impossible that such a mode of division should not occasion perpetual quarrels; and accordingly we find that the Portuguese, and their successors the Dutch, were engaged in frequent and bloody hostilities with the natives, who, of course, regarded

them as usurpers. The latter nation at length succeeded in their attempts to obtain a monopoly of the commerce of the island; but, in a war with the King of Candy in 1765, although they gained possession of his capital, they were obliged to make a treaty, by which they left him upon his throne, though reduced almost to a state of vassalage. Previously to this termination, in 1763, the English Government of Madras had sent Mr. Pybus on an embassy to the Candian King, for the purpose of negotiating a treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive; but as the English and Dutch were then at peace, nothing could be effected, and the only result was a degree of discredit to the English Government, for raising expectations which it had no means of fulfilling.

In the year 1782, a British force having gained possession of the fort and harbour of Trincomalée, the government of Madras deputed Mr. Hugh Boyd to a second embassy to the court of Candy. Its reception was, upon the whole, favourable; but the failure of the former negotiation was assigned by the King as a reason for refusing to enter into any treaty, the proposal for which did not come directly from his Britannic Majesty. The re-capture of the place by the French soon after, put an end to farther communications on the subject.

When the English in 1796 had made themselves masters of the whole sea-coast of Ceylon, embassadors were mutually sent between the King of Candy, and the Government of Madras; and a treaty was drawn up, and signed by the latter, which, however, the former refused to ratify. The King dying in 1798, the chief Adigaar, or prime minister, Pelame Telawve, the representative of one of the noblest Cingalese families, and a man of equal ambition and artifice,

placed on the throne a son of the late King, by a Cingalese mother, and consequently a bastard, since the King of Candy can marry only a Malabar, which is his own cast. The young man, therefore, had no rightful claim to the crown; and the Adigaar did not scruple to avow that he raised him to the throne, with the intention of removing him when convenient, and restoring the Cingalese line, that is, of usurping the crown himself. The Adigaar was at that time invested with the whole power of the government, being moreover Dessave* of the provinces of Jatenouven and Oodoono, which are the most populous of the island, and, with three others, have the right of electing the King. Immediately after this measure took place, the Queen, and all the kindred of the late King, were thrown into prison, and the second Adigaar, who would not concur in these nefarious transactions, was beheaded. The Queen's brother, Mootto Sawmy, with others of the royal race, having afterwards found means to escape from their confinement, took refuge in the English territory, and were placed under the superintendence of the British Government; their persons being rendered secure, but no power being given them to disturb the Candian Government.

This was the state of things when the Hon. Frederick North assumed the government of Ceylon in October 1798. The well known honour and benevolence of his character, and the pacific principles with which he entered upon his administration, will acquit him of any design of bringing on those hostilities which unfortunately took place during his continuance in office; and the following detail of the negotiations with the Candian court, derived from the most authentic sources, will irrefragably prove, that so far

* Military governor.

from taking advantage of the disorders of that oourt for the aggrandisement of the British power and territory, it was his humane solicitude for preserving the life of the King, which brought upon him the enmity of the prime minister, and was the immediate cause of the war.

In February, 1799, Governor North had an interview with the chief Adigaar at Anisavelli, the latter having declined coming to Columbo, through fear of the small-pox. The Adigaar announced the new King's accession, and then began to make insinuations concerning a supposed friendship between the King and the English Cingalese. He complained that the Government of Madras had not confirmed the propositions made by their embassador, Mr. Andrews, at his first visit to Candy. Mr. North replied, that the propositions were indefinite, and depended upon others which the court of Candy had rejected; that the treaty settled at Madras was to have been ratified in two years, which term being expired, it became null. The Adigaar then claimed the province of Tamblegan, on the sea-coast near Trincomalée, as having been promised by Mr. Hugh Boyd during the last war. The Governor said, that he knew perfectly well that no such promise had been made, and turned the discourse. The Adigaar then observed, that a treaty was of no use in preserving friendship between nations, to which the Governor assented. He then began to abuse the Malabars, the King's countrymen, representing them as instruments for subverting his influence, and that of the Cingalese, at the court of Candy; and he obscurely hinted at some plan, on which he had long meditated. The Governor assured him that he would use his endeavours to protect him from the ill offices of his enemies; and thus the

conference ended. Very handsome presents were made him on taking leave.

The purpose of the Adigaar at this interview was evidently to sound the Governor, and prepare the way for a personal correspondence, in which he might gradually bring him to concur in the dark and ambitious projects that were ripening in his mind. There might be truth in the suspicions he entertained of the influence of the Malabars over the mind of the young King, whose weakness would naturally incline him to favouritism, and who must have felt that he was a mere pageant of power, under the prime minister who had seated him on the throne.

The next conference between the Governor and the chief Adigaar was held in January 1800, at Sittavacca, on the border of the two territories. The Adigaar opened it by complaining, that he was sick in body and mind, and that the King was beginning to give his confidence to the Malabars; on which Mr. North remarked, that the power which placed him on the throne might prevent such a change in his counsels. The Adigaar persisted in representing the King as ill-disposed; and then explicitly expressed his wish, that the English would take possession of the Candian territory and place him, the Adigaar, at the head of it. The Governor replied, that he could not think of taking possession of a country to which the English had no claim, or of dethroning a prince, against whom he had no complaint; but that he would willingly undertake the protection of the King and country of Candy, in the name of his Britannic Majesty, and would immediately send troops for that purpose. In this event he would take care to preserve the Adigaar in the full and permanent enjoyment of his authority,

which would be best effected by maintaining the King on his throne. This last condition he regarded as an essential preliminary, without a consent to which, he could not carry on any correspondence whatever with the Adigaar. With this declaration the minister appeared satisfied; observing that he was afraid the length of the conference might occasion some surprise. He requested that the Maha Moodeliar might be sent to him on the morrow.

The Moodeliar, upon his return, reported that he had found the Adigaar disinclined to keeping the King upon the throne; though he said that he did not wish to be King himself, but to govern the kingdom under his present title. He asserted that the people were discontented with the King, and did not regard him as a lawful sovereign; and that he would fly from Candy on the news of the approach of British troops. The Governor here directed the Moodeliar positively to inform the Adigaar, that if such would be the consequence, not a man should be sent thither, as he was determined not to make war upon the King. If, however, his Majesty should think his person safer at Columbo, than in his own capital, he should be hospitably received there, and have an allowance of two thousand pagodas per month, for the maintenance of his household, which must be repaid by the Adigaar, who should remain at Candy with an English garrison, governing the country with absolute authority, but in the King's name. The Maha Moodeliar further said, that the Adigaar made no difficulty in promising a considerable tribute in produce of the country. He requested that Mr. Boyd might be sent to him.

At the ensuing conference, the Adigaar told Mr. Boyd, that the country had been inhabited by devils till the time of Seredin, who

expelled them; that a regular succession of monarchs of the Cingalese race followed for ages, but which, for a long time past, had been interrupted by a series of kings of the Malabar race, who had gained possession of the throne of Candy; that the Adigaar's brother, who was Adigaar about nineteen years ago, had, through his influence, placed a king of that race on the throne; and that he himself, about two years since, in the midst of civil discord, had elevated the present monarch, although he had no legal pretensions, and was in fact illegitimate. He then asked Mr. Boyd, what he thought of these things? His answer was that he was sure the Governor would not think it incumbent upon him to enter into the validity of the present King's title; that having found him in power at the time of his arrival in the island, he had recognised him, and had since lived on terms of amity with the Candian nation. The Adigaar then said, that the answer pleased him; and proceeded to observe, that the English had now considerable possessions in Ceylon, and might, if they chose, obtain the whole Candian territory; and upon this he wished to hear Mr. Boyd's sentiments. That gentleman then distinctly related to him the tenor of his Excellency's instructions; namely, that the Governor was sincerely desirous of the continuance of his power, and would secure it to him, provided the King of Candy could be induced to place himself and his country under the protection of Great Britain, and to admit an English garrison into his capital; but that he certainly would not permit a single soldier to enter the Candian territory, or to give him, the Adigaar, any assistance whatsoever, unless the safety of the King's person, and the continuance of his dignity, were stipulated as a preliminary to any agreement to be

made, and his express consent were obtained to the outline of any permanent arrangement for the future connexion between the two governments: that it was the Governor's wish that his Candian Majesty should voluntarily remain at Candy, under the safeguard of an English garrison, and that the Adigaar should continue to exercise the sovereign authority in his name. The Adigaar then observed, that such an arrangement could not well take place under the reigning King, who did not possess the confidence of the nation, and that Candy was torn by faction and civil dissension: upon which, Mr. Boyd urged that the plan proposed would be the most effectual means for restoring and maintaining peace and good order. The Adigaar then asked what reason his Excellency had for being so anxious to support the King, and said that it was not he who wished British troops to be sent to Candy. To this it was replied, that the Governor's resolution was immutable, not to assist in any undertaking, which had in view an attack upon a Prince, who was not an aggressor, and who had not injured the British nation. He said, in return, that the King was not a friend to the English, and asked, supposing he should attack them, how his Excellency would act? The answer was, that if the King of Candy should become an aggressor, the English well knew how to defend themselves. The Adigaar then further remarked, that it was through his influence that the young man now on the throne had been placed there; and that he had all along had an intention of putting the Candian territory under the dominion of the English, provided the supreme power were conferred upon him; and he expressed his regret that his proposal had not obtained the Governor's concurrence. A part of his Excellency's instructions, which spoke of sending General

Macdowal as embassador to Candy, was then mentioned to the Adigaar. He paused a little, and then observed, that the Governor might send the proposed strong escort with the General, if he pleased. After some expressions of regret that things must remain as they were, the conference ended. The Adigaar, during the whole of it, was mild, temperate, and collected; though it might be perceived that he laboured under great anxiety of mind.

In this interview the Adigaar's purpose was manifestly to feel his way, by throwing out suppositions, and putting questions. The enquiry, what would be the consequence of an attack commenced on the part of the King? is very observable, and fully explains some subsequent events.

On January 21st, at nine in the morning, the Adigaar waited on the Governor. After the usual compliments, he desired the room might be cleared; and then began by saying, that what Mr. Boyd had told him the preceding night, of the Governor's resolution not to permit the deposition of the present King of Candy, had rendered him very unhappy. Mr. North answered, that he was sorry for his uneasiness, but that no consideration should induce him to be accessory to the deposition of a prince, whom he had officially recognised, and from whom he had not received any cause of offence; that, moreover, his friendship for the Adigaar, and his desire that his power should be secured, and even augmented, by any just means, had induced him to make the proposal of governing in the King's name under the protection of the English; since he must find that power infinitely less dangerous, and more easy to be maintained, than any that he could unjustly usurp. The Adigaar then asked how he and the King could be in power at the

same time. The Governor replied, that nothing could be more easy: for that when the King's person should be under the guard of the British troops, there could be no difficulty in keeping at a distance any of the Adigaar's enemies, who should be provided for on the coast; and that he might issue out all orders in the name of the King, whom he might easily conciliate by kind treatment. The Adigaar seemed pleased with this proposal, and asked whether the Governor would think it necessary to have the King's permission to send the troops to Candy. Mr. North answered, certainly; but he conceived the best way would be for the Adigaar to use his influence with the King, to make a requisition for troops to be sent to defend him against all foreign and domestic enemies, with which desire the Governor would instantly comply. The Adigaar replied, that his influence was no longer what it had been, and that he feared he should not succeed. The Governor, said, he was sorry for it, since, without the King's express permission, he would not send the troops: he would, however, at all events, write to the King, to inform him of his intention of sending Major-General Macdowal to Candy as his embassador, with valuable presents, and that he could not think of trusting a person of so high a rank, in so disordered a country, with a smaller escort than a thousand men. The Adigaar then asked why the Governor chose to send a person of such distinction; to which it was replied, that he wished to show the greatest possible respect to the King, and to him; and that he hoped the General might be able to form such treaties, as would be conducive to the consolidation of our future union. The Adigaar asked, what sort of treaties the Governor wished to make, and whether they were meant to be like those of the Dutch?

To which the Governor answered, that all he desired was a treaty mutually advantageous to both countries. The Adigaar said, Why is the General to make it, and why cannot it be made by the Governor at Sittavacca? He was answered, that nothing would give the Governor greater satisfaction than to enter upon the business with him immediately, provided he had full powers from the King. These the Adigaar confessed that he had not; and asked whether the General on leaving Candy would take back the troops with him. The Governor answered, that it might be stipulated in the treaty that a strong garrison, with a commandant, should be left there for the protection of the King's person. The Adigaar seemed greatly relieved by this reply, and took his leave, apparently much better satisfied than at his arrival.

The Governor having been informed that there were some Dutch at Candy, sent the next day to the Adigaar, to desire that they might not be retained there, but forwarded to Columbo, which was promised. He then returned to Columbo.

On February 1st, 1800, Mr. Boyd had another long conference with the Adigaar. At this interview the great obstacle was got over, namely, renouncing any attempt on the King's person and dignity, for he agreed to this point at the commencement of the conference. He represented the people as desirous of being freed from the King's bad conduct in governing, and proposed that the King's crown and dignity should remain untouched, but that all the functions of government should be committed to himself, through the influence of a British army at Candy; and wished the troops should be sent up immediately with General Macdowal as embassador. He described the King as inimical to the English, and

said that time would show it. Mr. Boyd replied, that he could promise nothing about the troops without the King's consent, which was an essential part of the business. The Adigaar gave him to understand, that the second Adigaar was his nephew, and of course of his party; and it appeared to be their intention, if they could not get the King's consent, to make him the aggressor. Mr. Boyd on this observed, that the Governor would have recourse to explanation before he took up arms. The Adigaar said, the King was offended with the Governor, because he permitted the pretenders to live at Columbo and Jaffna, and on other accounts. He informed Mr. Boyd that he had sent away the Europeans mentioned by the Governor, without consulting the King. He was in much better spirits than before, and seemed very desirous that General Macdowal should go up with the troops, in hope of arranging matters on the spot.

At another conference with Mr. Boyd, on February 3d, the intended letter to the King of Candy was shown to the Adigaar, which, with some alterations, he approved. These were made, and referred to the King's having enemies about him. He then entered into a discussion of the remuneration to be made to the English for taking the country into their protection. They were to have at their disposal the revenues of the country, chiefly consisting in rice, areka-nut, and pepper, with full permission to cut wood, and to collect cinnamon wherever we chose. He proposed to return, in order to meet the General, unless his presence should be necessary at Candy, in which case he would place the Dessaves in their respective corles.* He hoped we would respect the pagodas, and other sacred build-

* Provinces.

ings: some of these, he said, had old guns on them, which he hoped would not be removed. He further desired the General would not permit an old sword at Candy, considered by the Cingalese as sacred, to be sent out of the country; although the King, as a Malabar, might wish it. He also requested that the English would not kill some sacred cattle near Candy. He asked, who would command the troops after the departure of the General; and was answered, probably Colonel Champagné, of whom he approved. He wished Mr. Boyd and Mr. Jonville to accompany the embassy; and added, that for himself he had only to request, that when all was settled, the Governor would write him a letter, acknowledging his services to the English nation, and would promise that he and the second Adigaar should be continued in their places during life, and that he would never forsake their families.

At another conference on February 5th, the Governor's engagement to protect the pagodas, and comply with the other requests, was produced, and satisfied the Adigaar. He asked if the General meant to take field-pieces with him; and said, he thought five or six might be carried, though with difficulty. He took a rough draught of an intended letter to the King, and settled when it should be sent off. On the next day he departed for Candy.

The letter to the King was written and dispatched. It notified the intention of sending the proposed embassy, accompanied by troops. An answer was received, signed by the chief Adigaar, but with the royal seal affixed. This being considered as insufficient, another meeting was appointed at Sittavacca.

It took place between the Adigaar and Mr. Boyd, on March 3d. The Adigaar began with asserting, that letters in the form above-

mentioned had frequently been sent to the Dutch governor, and also to Fort St. George: Mr. Boyd, however, demanded that, in this instance, as an extraordinary case, the King's consent should be signed by himself. The Adigaar agreed to this, and then read over the treaty, and made some alterations, adding a separate article. It was proposed that the sum paid till the revenue was settled should be two lacs and a half of pagodas. He said, he could not be answerable for nearly so large a sum, although it was paid in produce of the country. He affirmed it to be his wish, that the British government should have the administration and collection of the whole revenue; but as many different interests in the country were to be consulted on a point of so much importance, he could not answer for his being able to effect it. At length he made the following proposal: that he would invite all the Dessaves to repair to the frontier at his present quarters; and that the Governor should come thither from Columbo, and lay his treaty before him and them, which, if agreed upon, should be sent to Candy for the King's signature; that they should all remain upon the spot till it came back signed, when the Governor and they might sign it. He further desired to know, what would be the consequence of the King's refusal to sign such a treaty as the Governor wished; and was told, as before, that no force would be used to compel him. Mr. Boyd thought he perceived during this conference that the Adigaar had not abandoned his long cherished project of seating himself on the throne, by the deposition of the unhappy young man whom he had raised to it.

On March 4th, another interview took place. The Adigaar here repeated his wishes of placing the country under the authority of

the English, if he should be on the throne; and threw out many other things which clearly proved, that he was not acting with sincerity in the conclusion of the treaty as it was proposed to him, but that he was still labouring to find means for effecting the deposition of the King, and his own elevation to the throne. When he had finished, Mr. Boyd told him, that he felt no hesitation in saying, that he perceived his drift to be the bringing of the English into his views of acting against the King. The Adigaar replied, that he was far from being displeased with the frankness of this observation; and avowed, that he had not yet lost sight of the throne of Candy. Mr. Boyd then assured him, and repeated it, that if he imagined the Governor would enter into his views, he was egregiously mistaken; for that his Excellency's acting hostilely against the present King of Candy, whom he had already recognised, without any provocation or aggression on his part, was totally out of the question. He then, as on a former occasion, began to enquire what would be considered as a sufficient aggression for taking arms against the King; and went so far as to ask whether an irruption of three thousand men into the English territories would suffice. It was replied, that such would certainly be considered as provocation enough; but it was added in explicit terms, that should such a thing take place, he himself would be regarded as the person who had instigated it, and could not from that moment look up to the British Government for support or protection, but must consider himself as having forfeited them for ever. Mr. Boyd explained to him the unhappy situation to which he would be reduced by usurping the throne; that he must live in continual agitation; whereas, by entering heartily, and with good

faith, into the arrangement now under consideration, he might pass the rest of his life without alarm. He assented to the justness of all these remarks, and protested that he meant to act cordially. Mr. Boyd then observed that he did not think the Governor would come to Sittavacca, to meet him and the Dessaves upon an uncertainty; and pressed him to conclude, and finally agree upon, all the articles of the treaty; and if he thought it absolutely necessary to assemble the Dessaves, Mr. Boyd offered to remain and arrange the treaty, which being conclusively settled, the Governor, or General Macdowal, would come up, it being perfectly understood that the King would sign it. He acquiesced, and they proceeded to the treaty. He assented to the articles, with very little alteration. On the subject of the revenues, however, as to the amount of the sum to be paid for the expense of the troops, they could come to no agreement; and Mr. Boyd thought he could perceive, that the Adigaar had not yet come to the resolution of acting with good faith; and had by no means forsaken his ambitious project of mounting the throne.

At another conference on March 5th, the Adigaar refused, on trifling excuses, to sign a fair copy of the treaty, which he had approved, and pressed to know the consequences should the King ultimately withhold his signature. He was answered, that there was no doubt of the King's signing if he, the Adigaar, pleased. Upon his declaring that he wished the embassy to go to Candy, but was desirous that Mr. Boyd should previously meet the Dessaves and himself, Mr. Boyd asked, supposing this to be the case, would he now give him a positive assurance, and for which he would be responsible, that the General, on his arrival, should find

the King at Candy. The answer was so ambiguous as even to be totally foreign to the subject. The question was repeated four times, without producing any thing like a satisfactory reply. He remained pensive for some time, and at length asked Mr. Boyd to repeat to him the final conditions on which the embassy would go to Candy. These were stated to be, that he should sign the articles of the treaty to which he had already assented, as forming the fundamental conditions of a final one, to be made by the British embassador at Candy; and should give a positive assurance of being responsible for the embassador's finding the King at Candy on his arrival there. The Adigaar then repeated his request, that Mr. Boyd would meet the Dessaves at Sittavacca, which Mr. Boyd promised to communicate to the Governor. His motive for this Mr. Boyd could not comprehend, but thought it was not to forward a treaty that secured on the throne a King, whom, as he had repeatedly declared, he placed there in a time of trouble, with the determination hereafter to depose him and take his place.

At a further conference on March 6th, Mr. Boyd informed the Adigaar that the Governor had resolved, in consequence of his difficulties about the treaty, to send forward the embassy and troops, regarding the King's permission as given through him. He added, that though the Adigaar had not made any positive engagement, the Governor still relied upon him, that he would act cordially and sincerely in getting the treaty settled at Candy, after the manner they had now concerted it. The Adigaar said, the Governor might rely on it. He promised, out of respect to the embassador, to meet him in person, and cause other men of rank to do so. It was pointedly repeated to him, that the Governor was unalterably

determined to protect the King; and that if any accident should happen to him, he would never recognise the usurper. He seemed to feel this, and his answer was clear and unequivocal. He said, he was sensible that any such attempt made under the present circumstances would be extremely disagreeable to the Governor; and that such constructions might be put upon it, as would injure him in the eyes of his great sovereign, the King of England; that nothing could be further from his intentions; and that he would answer for the King's life, and would himself conduct General Macdowal to the King's presence at Candy.

In the preceding full and clear account of the several conferences held with the chief Adigaar, the whole train of that minister's policy is made apparent. Judging of the views and principles of the English Governor of Ceylon, by the ideas which the selfish conduct of the Dutch had given him of the policy of Europeans, he probably entertained little doubt of being able to engage his assistance in getting rid of the pageant, whom, for a temporary purpose, he had placed on the seat of royalty, and in seizing the vacant throne for himself. For this intent he did not scruple to propose rendering the crown of Candy tributary, and in a manner feudatory to the English; trusting to events for freeing him from their dominion, when their arms should be no longer necessary for his protection; and doubtless foreseeing from experience, the impossibility of long maintaining an European force, fit for service, in the deleterious climate of the Candian capital. He likewise very explicitly disclosed his plan for involving the King in hostilities with the English, by means of a proposed aggression on the part of the Candians, hoping that the Governor would, without scruple,

make it a pretext for entirely abandoning the King, and effecting his dethronement. To these base and crooked politics the conduct of Mr. North forms a contrast highly honourable to the national character. Firm in his resolution of protecting the person, and preserving the dignity of the Candian King, he made those conditions fundamental in every negotiation with the Adigaar, and was not to be diverted from them by his arts or offers. He made known to that minister, that he, and not the King, should be held responsible for any aggression committed for the purpose of bringing on a war. This responsibility, indeed, was a necessary consequence of that supreme authority which the Adigaar possessed, and in which the Governor did not object to maintain him; since it was evident that the phantom of royalty whom he had placed on the throne, was incapable of exercising independent sovereignty, and the Adigaar was the most powerful man of his nation. That the Governor should wish, by adopting the interests of the prime-minister against those of his competitors for power, to secure his friendship to the British nation, was a very allowable measure of policy, and indeed the most obvious method of keeping the whole island in peace.

The proposed embassy of Major-General Macdowal set out from Columbo in March 1800. The Adigaar met it in state; but, from the force he had assembled to watch its motions, it appeared that he regarded the British troops with an eye of suspicion. The greater part of them were not allowed to proceed to the capital, which the Embassador entered with only a guard of sepoys and Malays. The Adigaar kept his promise in presenting him to the King; but when the articles of the treaty came to be discussed,

those proposed by the Embassador were not acceded to by the Candian Court, which offered others on its part. These not being admissible, the General demanded his audience of leave, and set out on his return in the end of April. A copy of the treaty which he was directed to offer, is given in the Appendix.

During two subsequent years, various overtures were made by Governor North to the Candian Court, for agreeing upon terms of amity and alliance; but they were either disdainfully rejected, or answered by counter proposals, of such a nature that they could not for a moment be attended to.

On February 3d, 1802, an embassy arrived at Columbo from the King, with the second Adigaar, though only in his quality of Dessave. He attempted, in a secret conference, to renew the propositions formerly made by his uncle, the first Adigaar, and made complaints of the King, to which the Governor refused to listen. The embassy then demanded the cession of three small islands, which had been granted by the Dutch treaty, with the right of employing ten vessels in a free commerce. The Governor treated this demand as wholly impertinent; and, as it was made an essential preliminary to a new treaty, an end was put to the discussion. The Deputies then desired that another embassy might be sent from the Governor to Candy; which was refused. On the next day the second Adigaar had a conference with Mr. Boyd, in which he repeated some of his proposals, but without effect; and he was dismissed without the presents to which he was entitled as second Adigaar, he having chosen to wave his dignity, and to appear only as a Dessave.

The first Adigaar, now convinced that his machinations for ob-

taining the concurrence of the English in his ambitious designs were hopeless, determined upon his long-meditated expedient of bringing on hostilities by aggression on the part of the Candians. Accordingly, collections of armed men soon appeared on the frontiers of the British territories; and in the month of April, 1802, some inhabitants of Putalom, subjects of Great Britain, being upon a trading journey in the Candian country, were forcibly despoiled of a quantity of areka or betel-nut, which they had purchased at a fair market. Satisfaction for this outrage was demanded by the English government, but, upon various frivolous pretexts, was delayed; and, in the mean time, the hostile preparations of the Candian Court became more and more manifest.

These circumstances were thought a sufficient justification of an attempt, by force of arms, to compel that Court to a reasonable accommodation; and accordingly, in the beginning of 1803, two divisions of the British army marched from the opposite ports of Columbo and Trincomalée, under General Macdowal and Colonel Barbut, which formed a junction before the capital of Candy. No effectual resistance was made by the Cingalese. The King and the chief Adigaar fled with precipitation, after setting fire to the palace and temples, and the British troops, without opposition, possessed themselves of the deserted capital. General Macdowal made various attempts to procure an interview with the King, but they were constantly eluded; and as he now appeared to have forfeited all claim to regard from the British Government, it was resolved to place on the throne a competitor. This was Prince Mootoo Sawmy, already mentioned as brother of the late Queen, and a near branch of the royal family, who had taken refuge from the tyranny of the new

reign in the English territory. He was sent for to Candy, and a treaty was made with him, the articles of which are given in the Appendix.

It has since appeared that this Prince was by no means a proper person for the occasion. He had undergone a public punishment from the late king on account of a fraud, which circumstance legally disqualified him for succeeding to the throne. The assurances which he gave the Governor of his possessing the attachment of the Cingalese nation proved totally deceptive, for his standard was not joined at Candy by a single Cingalese. He remained a mere shadow of royalty, till the lamentable massacre of the British troops by command of the Adigaar; an event, the causes and circumstances of which are still involved in doubt and mystery. As Major Davy was apprized, that supplies and succours were on the road to join him, it is incomprehensible that he should be induced to capitulate to so weak a foe as the King of Candy, and still more, that he should afterwards consent to surrender his arms, contrary to the terms of capitulation. It is most of all extraordinary that he should deliver Mootoo Sawmy to his implacable enemy, who immediately put him to death in the presence of those, who ought to have perished with arms in their hands, rather than have submitted to an act which has impressed an indelible stain on the British character. Major Davy should have taken warning by the fate of the Dutch when they attempted to retain Candy. Worn out by disease, they had capitulated, and in consequence had been massacred. We have now purchased experience, and I trust that European troops will never again be permanently exposed to the fatal climate of the interior of Ceylon, which renders all superiority of valour and discipline unavailable.

The Candian war, however disastrous as it was, produced the good effect of breaking the King's power in our territories. He had before a nominal undefined authority over the whole island, and the Dutch had submitted to be termed his door-keepers. This gave him consequence in the eyes of the Cingalese, resident in our districts; and enabled him to create disturbances. Two rebellions have been excited by this influence; one, in 1798, by the late King, and one in 1800 by the present. After the massacre of Candy the whole body of natives revolted from us, probably under the notion that our situation was desperate, and that they must conciliate the conqueror; for their experience of our equitable government could scarcely have rendered them really hostile to us. At present, the King has not only lost all influence over our districts, but his consequence is much diminished among his own subjects. The repeated destructive incursions of small bodies of our troops into his territories, unopposed on his part, have shewn his people that he is incapable of protecting them, whence they have naturally been induced to seek security in our territories.

These and other considerations lead me to conceive, that it is still by no means impossible to place our possessions in Ceylon upon a more secure footing, and even to obtain a paramount authority over the whole island. After the perfidious massacre of Major Davy's corps, it will scarcely be contended, that we are under any obligations to consider the interests either of the usurper on the throne, or of the ambitious minister who placed him there. The little attachment of the Candians to the present cruel and arbitrary government, is proved by their frequent emigrations to the parts of the island under the British dominion. If, therefore, the good will

of the natives were studiously cultivated by a just and mild administration, by effectual protection to life and property, and by a due respect to their customs and religious prejudices, it cannot be doubted that they would view with satisfaction the authority of Great Britain extended over the whole country.

For the purpose of reducing the island, we certainly possess much greater facilities than either of its former European settlers. Its vicinity to our possessions on the continent of India, would admit of the conveyance of a number of troops, fully adequate to the immediate extinction of all resistance. The plan should be to march directly to the capital, and drive the enemy from post to post, without intermission, till he should be compelled to a surrender. The well-disciplined sepoys of the Company should be employed in this service, who would be little liable to suffer from the fevers so fatal to Europeans. The business might probably be effected in a single campaign, and a few well-chosen fortified posts would secure the conquest. The seat of government should be transferred to Columbo; but the natives might be gratified by the exterior marks of authority, conferred upon one of their ancient line of princes, who might keep a kind of court under British superintendance. Such a change would be so really beneficial to the Cingalese, by putting an end to civil contests, and competitions for the crown, and introducing the blessings of civilized government, that, after the provocations given, no moral objections, I conceive, would lie against it. Farther, the massacre at Candy has rendered peace more difficult, since a retribution must be demanded, to which the perpetrators of the crime will scarcely be brought to accede. I need not add the great advantage that would result

from making communications across the island between our sea-ports and settlements on the opposite sides; which would also be probably attended with an improvement in the healthiness of the country, from clearing the forests and jungles.

It has been much doubted whether Ceylon ought to be an independent government. If the whole of India were new modelled, I should say not; but as it is at present, there can, I conceive, be no question that it ought not to be annexed to either of the Presidencies; for, after what has already passed, no one can wish to see the Company's servants again introduced. I think, however, that even were the Crown to assume India, it is more than probable a seat of government would be in Ceylon, instead of its becoming subordinate to any part of the continent. Its central situation, its harbours, its produce, and the treasures which I suspect are hidden in the bowels of its lofty mountains, will, I think, render it one of our most valuable possessions.

Should this take place, it might be matter of doubt whether it would not be adviseable to remove the seat of Government to Point de Galle. Although the fortifications of Columbo are strong, yet the harbour is safe at one season only, for during the south-western monsoon the whole coast is wind-bound. The inner harbour of Point de Galle is safe at all seasons, being perfectly land-locked; and during each monsoon, ships can arrive at it, and depart from it, in safety. The fortifications towards the sea are very strong, and if necessary might be considerably increased. The harbour itself is capable of great improvement. It is a moderate distance from Negumbo, where the attention of Government will be particularly required at one season of the year, in consequence of its becoming

the chief mart for cinnamon, and where a small fort ought to be erected to protect the peelers; and also from Trincomalée, the great naval arsenal of our Eastern empire. In point of salubrity, Point de Galle is superior to any other place, and its situation is in the finest, though the wildest part of the island. It is the most convenient station for all the ships employed in conveying the overland dispatches up the Red Sea or to Bussorah, and the Indian Presidencies. Trincomalée itself has been spoken of, but many years must elapse before its vicinity will produce sufficient for the garrison and fleet, and the increased population which always attends the capital. Our situation is perfectly dissimilar from that of the Dutch: they had no place to which they could look for supplies nearer than Batavia, and a communication with that place was rendered difficult, by not having the command of the sea; they were therefore obliged to keep up such a force as would permanently defend the island. We can at any time draw supplies from our Indian possessions, and have no enemy capable of intercepting them. In the height of the S.W. monsoon they can be sent mostly by land. The three great points of Columbo, Galle, and Trincomalée, should be fortified so as to resist any sudden attack; but any thing more is unncessary. Jaffnapatam is of great importance, but is less liable to attack, and is nearer to the continent, whence relief can be procured.

The Cingalese are distributed into many casts, and subdivisions of casts. Of these, the first is that of the Vellalas, or cultivators of the land; from the two superior classes of which are chosen the Modeliars and principal native officers of the government; from the inferior, the lower officers, and lascaryns or militia-men. The cast of

fishermen is numerous and powerful, but the Mahomedans also carry on that occupation. The other casts are distinguished by their several trades, which they follow exclusively: thus the washermen only wash cloaths, and the barbers only shave; and upon a late quarrel between these two casts, the washermen remained unshaven, and the barbers in their foul cloaths, till Mr. North, disgusted with their appearance, mediated a peace between them. The Chalias, or cinnamon-peelers, are a numerous and turbulent cast. They are not originally of this island, but, from their importance, obtained great privileges from the Dutch Government. These were abolished by Mr. North, who gave them additional pay as a compensation. Their lands were free of taxes, and their causes were judged by their own chief, who was called Captain Cinnamon; a title which Mr. North took himself. The Governor is *ex officio* head of the Vellalas, as the chief Secretary is of the fishermen. Of the others there are native heads.

The higher casts are extremely jealous of their privileges, and severely punish those of the lower casts who presume to usurp them. A man who ventured to cover his house with tiles, without being entitled to that distinction, had it pulled down to the ground by order of his superior; and a poor taylor, whose love of finery led him to be married in a scarlet jacket, was nearly killed at the church door. The privilege of casts extends to the dress of the females, and many are prohibited from wearing a petticoat below their knees, or covering their breasts. Vanity is the predominant passion of the Cingalese; they are therefore continually attempting to dress above their condition, which occasions perpetual disputes.

The Malabars, who inhabit the northern part of our settlement, and a branch of whom were on the throne of Candy before the late revolution, are also divided into casts, but not the same as those of the Cingalese. Besides these, who are chiefly Christians in name, there are two numerous casts of Mahomedans: first the Lebbies, or African merchants, who were regarded by the Dutch as strangers, and taxed at twenty-four shillings each per annum, which impost the British Government took off. They are active and industrious. Mr. North introduced a Musti to determine their causes, but, like his brethren, he took bribes, and was dismissed, and the Governor became himself their judge. Second, the Malays, who may be subdivided into princes, soldiers, and robbers; though indeed the latter designation may, without injustice, be extended to all of them. Of the princes, some are deposed sovereigns of Java, or the circumjacent isles, or of the peninsula of Malacca, whom the jealousy of the Dutch had banished to this country till it might be thought proper to reinstate them, and send hither their successors. There are also the wives or relations of such as have died during their banishment. The soldiers are in British pay, and the Malays are excellent in that capacity. Though they have a high sense of honour, which makes their resentment fatal, when they think themselves injured, they will submit, without a murmur, to military punishment. They form a counterpoise to the natives, with whom they are not at all connected, yet are not sufficiently numerous to be dangerous. Their conduct during the Candian war was highly to their credit: they did not desert the British officers till these had deserted themselves, and, even then, the Chiefs preferred death to dishonour.

The Cingalese are a finer race of men than the Bengalese, and are more elegant than the Rohillas or Rajah-pouts. They rarely sit in a crouching posture, and, consequently, have good calves to their legs. Their dress is by no means inelegant. The lower orders leave the body naked to the hips; a large cloth, folded round them, reaches below the knees: it is usually of a handsome pattern, or white, with a border. Occasionally a similar piece is thrown over the shoulders. The head is covered with a handkerchief. The females cover the loins like the men: the casts, to whom it is permitted, wear a white chemise, that closes before, and extends to the hips: the others draw a piece of cloth tight just above the breasts, and let it hang down. The expression of their countenances is fine: their skin nearly black; and their hair, of which they are very proud, is long, black, and not coarse.

The vices of the Cingalese seem to be the creation of their late masters. Oppression has had much influence in forming their character, of which indolence is the most prominent feature. This quality has been supposed natural to them; and a general prejudice has prevailed, that a Cingalese must be compelled to labour. But under the Dutch Government they had no choice but to be poor and idle, or work for nothing; and it is no wonder that they preferred the former: now that their property is secured to them, they gradually become more industrious. Concubinage with a white is reckoned no disgrace to a native female. She goes by his name among her own people, and is respected for the property she brings. She walks before her father and mother to church or mass, and, if a Catholic, easily obtains absolution from a half-cast Portuguese Priest, who knows nothing of his religion but its ceremonies.

Thus loose manners are prevalent through the influence of the Europeans.

A great part of the island of Ceylon having been long under the control of the Portuguese and Dutch, a considerable number of the inhabitants have, at least externally, conformed to the religion of their masters. The Portuguese, with the usual intolerant zeal of the Roman Catholics, destroyed the temples of Boodh throughout their dominions; and, substituting a mode of worship well calculated by its splendor and parade to captivate the imagination, made proselytes of a great proportion of the people. The Dutch went about the business more coolly, and held forth the temptation of requiring the profession of the Protestant faith as a qualification for all public offices. They also wisely established schools throughout the country, in which the youth were educated in Christian principles. Their clergy, though only ten in number, were active, and their labours were assisted by the Missionaries from Tranquebar. Thus Christianity spread widely, especially among the Vellálas or noble class; and the Protestant natives have been estimated at above 240,000; whilst the Catholics are supposed to be still more numerous. Many of these, indeed, are only nominal Christians, who retain a great reverence for the rites of Paganism and the doctrines of Boodh. When at a distance from the inspection of Government, they consult the priests with confidence, both as conjurors and physicians. Mr. North mentioned to me a curious anecdote relative to the remaining attachment to the ancient religion. In one of his progresses through this island, he had occasion to examine a man upon oath, and asked him of what religion he was. He replied, a Christian. Of what sect? A Dutch Christian. You

believe then in Buddah? Yes, certainly. Mr. North did not swear him as a Protestant. I have no doubt, however, that even this nominal Christianity is an advantage, as it has an effect in destroying their prejudices, and their children become real believers by means of education in the schools.

With respect to these schools, I must make a few observations. In the time of the Dutch they were blended with the ecclesiastical establishment, were carefully attended to, and became numerous and flourishing. Upon the conquest of Ceylon by the English, the salaries of the masters were unpaid, and the schools went rapidly to decay. Mr. North, upon his arrival, sensible of the importance of these institutions, re-established them with improvements, abolishing at the same time a tax upon native marriages, which had been levied for their maintenance, but which was found to promote concubinage. The number of parochial schools was raised by him to one hundred and seventy, besides an academy at Columbo. The school-masters were bound to act as notaries in their several districts; so that the whole expense of the establishment, amounting to £4,600. was not to be set down to the account of education solely. Had this, however, been the case, the benefits arising from a plan calculated to improve the morals of the rising generation, to enlighten them in true religion, and attach them to the British government, would have been cheaply purchased at such a moderate expenditure. Such, however, was not the calculation made at home; for, in 1803, Mr. North received orders to limit the expense of the schools to £1500. per annum, whence those in the country districts were necessarily given up. This change has not answered the economical purpose intended by it; since, in consequence of the

plan of registering estates, hereafter mentioned, persons with salaries must be appointed, who might equally have served for schoolmasters.

It seems extraordinary, that while the pious zeal of many worthy men for the conversion of the Hindoos should have induced them to send missionaries to India, where no rational hopes can be entertained of success, and where nothing but mischief is likely to follow the attempt, Ceylon should have been overlooked, where complete success might fairly be expected. The Cingalese have abandoned the strong prejudices, which bind the Hindoos so closely to the Brahminical religion; and their attachment to casts is much more an affair of vanity than of religion. No incapacity or disgrace attends the profession of Christianity. If the plans introduced by the Dutch were quietly and steadily pursued, there is good reason to believe that the whole Cingalese nation might, in time, be converted. It is painful to remark, that the economy of the British government should have diminished these hopes. Mr. North, in a tour round the coast, found that in many parts, paganism was regaining its lost ground through the absence of clergymen. The number established by the Dutch should be augmented, as the business of converting would be carried on more safely under the eye of government, than by missionaries, whose zeal has too frequently outrun their prudence. The reduction of the clergy has been attended with another evil, that of the increase of concubinage among the Protestants. In several parts there are no clergymen resident within a hundred miles, and the poor people are unable to go so far to get married.

In one instance the British have very properly deviated from the

example of the Dutch. These greatly oppressed the Catholics under their dominion, who were not permitted to have a separate burial ground, and were obliged to pay extravagant fees for permission to bury with the Protestants. This law was abrogated by General Stuart. The tax on their marriages also amounted, under the Dutch, nearly to a prohibition. This order of people, therefore, has been a considerable gainer by our conquest.

The administration of justice, under the Dutch, was equally ignorant and corrupt. Their courts were composed of men without knowledge, without education, without character, and without control. Judges became such, from holding offices to which chance or bribery had promoted them, and were themselves the refuse of their country. Not a Dutch tradesman would put his son into the service of the East India Company, unless he apprehended that he would disgrace his family by staying at home. The practice was even worse than the theory. Advocates were not allowed to plead before them. Their proctors and attornies were admitted to act, by the favour of government, without the least pretension to professional knowledge. Causes even of the most important nature were not always heard in court; but after interrogatories made by the fiscal, who was not necessarily a lawyer, in the presence of two members of the court of justice more ignorant than himself, who had no right to interfere in the case, and no voice in the decision of it, the conclusion of the fiscal was generally sent round to the members of the tribunal, and signed by them out of court, with a want of examination and caution utterly unjustifiable.

A remarkable instance of the carelessness of the Dutch criminal administration occurred to Mr. North. A man, condemned to the

works, presented a petition to him, stating that he had been three years and a half in that situation for a very slight offence. On consulting the register of the court, it was found that he had been condemned by the judges only for one year, but that the clerk had, by mistake, changed the period to ten. The clerk was dead.

The Dutch records have furnished but very little information that could be relied on: they appear to have falsified all the accounts to deceive their masters at home; a measure necessary to cover their peculations, without which they would have been unable to subsist on their salaries.

In consequence of their real or pretended ignorance of the laws and customs of their Cingalese subjects, they confounded, in the terms of their language, and in the application of their laws, persons who were obliged by their cast to perform humiliating and gratuitous services to others, with domestic slaves; whereas, the very definition of the services, which they were bound to perform, clearly distinguished them from that unhappy race. By the capitulation, the slaves were left to their masters; but Mr. North liberated many who were wrongfully enslaved, and none can now be imported or exported. A half-cast by a black slave is free; but actions lie for loss of the women's service, and several have been brought.

The Dutch had imbibed a notion that an undivided share of an estate prevented emigration; they therefore would not permit an estate to be divided among the children at the death of a parent, but compelled them to be tenants in common. The confusion this rule occasioned in the third, and even the second generation, may

readily be conceived. Mr. North permitted the division, and established officers in each district for the registry of lands, under the conviction, that giving a man a clear and undisputed title to his estate, is the best way of attaching him to his country.

The Dutch discouraged agriculture, and thereby increased the distress of the natives and depopulated their territories. Their only object was the cinnamon, and they wished to keep the island in entire dependence. Mr. North, anxious to repair the mischief, made grants of land to any applicant, on condition that, after five years, he should pay to Government one-tenth of the produce of dry grain on high ground, which is as much as he can afford, and one-fourth of that on low. By diminishing the number of lascaryns, he also obliged many to become cultivators for a subsistence.

By orders from home, all the pensions which had been granted to the landroosts, or persons who had held high offices in the Dutch service, were suspended, leaving those unfortunate men to beggary. This was done in the sweeping system of economy; and was afterwards in some degree, but in an ungracious manner, mitigated, by permitting the Governor to grant pensions in his Majesty's name. Without such an indulgence, they must have absolutely perished for want of food; for, under the Dutch, their salaries were so low, that even with peculation, it was but just possible to live. They are now reduced to insignificance, just vegetating on their pensions; and their sense of the change induces many of them to drink to excess, so that they will soon be extinct. Some of them were deeply implicated in the rebellion which succeeded the massacre.

Concerning the great commercial staple of the island, the

cinnamon, I have not much to add to the accounts that have been given by other writers. The Dutch had several gardens for its culture, of which that of Mahrandahn, near Columbo, is fifteen miles in circumference, and is surrounded by a ditch. The Dutch had permitted a considerable proportion of private property to get intermingled with it. Mr. North, however, has formed other gardens near Negumbo, which will, in time, produce the whole investment, when the garden near Columbo may be disposed of for other purposes. The expense of procuring it from detached spots is much greater than that from one garden would be; and it is a great object to liberate as much land as possible for the culture of dry grain, the annual importation of rice alone for the consumption of the island being estimated at fifty thousand bags. Opening the garden at Mahrandahn would be a great relief in this respect; but a still greater benefit would arise from the success of a plan of Mr. North's to drain the Mootah-Rajah-Ville salt-marsh between Columbo and Negumbo, and to keep out the salt water. Were this executed, a tract of ten miles long, by two broad, would become good rice-ground, and would probably yield sufficient for the consumption of Columbo. I shall just add, on the subject of cinnamon, that it is a prejudice to consider the thinnest as the best. The thick bark from old trees is, indeed, rough and bitter; but that from plants which grow luxuriantly in a favourable soil, with sufficient ventilation, is extremely thick, smooth, and solid, and its aromatic quality superior to that of the thinner.

To clear a considerable portion of the island is manifestly a matter of great importance; but this work must be undertaken with caution. If the hills were to be left bare, experience teaches

us that they would no longer attract the clouds in an equal degree, whence a scarcity might ultimately ensue. The vallies, and more especially the banks of the rivers, should be freed from the close brush-wood. It is under the branches of these shrubs, which again throw out roots in every direction, that the fatal jungle-fever is probably generated. Not a breath of air can pass through; and the confined exhalations from the black vegetable mud, loaded with putrid effluvia of all kinds, must acquire a highly deleterious quality, affecting both the air and water. In the Isle of France the banks of the rivers were no sooner cleared of their shade, than the water became wholesome. The cocoa-nut tree, when close planted, seems to prevent the growth of underwood; might it not be employed for this purpose on the banks of rivers? If all shelter were removed, even in the lowlands, the ground crops might be injured by too much opening them to the sun and wind, and the effects, even on the fruit trees, might be unfavourable. But tall trees would protect, without stopping the circulation of air. Clumps of them, and hedge-rows, ought to be planted when the jungle and underwood are cleared. Fire cannot be employed to destroy the cover in Ceylon, as the trees are never sufficiently dry: this is perhaps a fortunate circumstance, since the effects of fire cannot be restrained, and the fine cabinet woods of Ceylon are worth preserving.

I cannot conclude this chapter, without a testimony to the merit of Mr. North's administration. His mild and benignant character, and conciliatory policy, were essentially beneficial in reconciling the minds of the natives to the British Government, after the monstrous conduct of those who ruled in the island when it was under the control of the Presidency of Madras. The civil servants, who

came down to this land of promise, were attended by a swarm of native Debashes, who, claiming the rank and title of Aumils, seem to have considered the land as given up to them to be devoured. It is hardly credible to what a length they carried their extortions. The Dutch law was abrogated, and the Madras system was introduced, which, though possibly more rational in its principles, was more violent in its operation, more repugnant to the feelings of the people, more destructive of their usages, and more subversive of their property. One of these Aumils, on receiving the visits of the natives upon his arrival at his station, presented to each a nutmeg, and, on their departure, sent to demand a sum of money from each, proportioned to his situation. Others sought not even such a pretext for their extortions; and at Baticaloe imprisoned for more than three years the Vidaam, or native head-man, because he would not pay them the sum demanded. Their sole object was to accumulate money. They impoverished the woods by cutting down all the beautiful species of timber; and they laid a general, and most oppressive, tax upon cocoa-nut trees; the rate being made equal, although a tree near a town is double the value of one in the country At length, even the patient Cingalese could bear no more, and the whole country burst forth into rebellion. One Aumil paid for his crimes with his life; and the government was so conscious of his misdeeds, that no enquiry was ever instituted, or prosecution undertaken about it. Mr. Andrews, who held the supreme civil authority as Commercial Resident and Receiver General, cannot be acquitted of having at least connived at these enormities; and the affair of the pearl-fishery during his government, in which double the boats were employed for which the Company received payment,

might authorize a still more unfavourable construction of his conduct.

The arrival of Mr. North was by no means an agreeable circumstance to these locusts, who seem to have entertained a hope of driving him from his government. They, however, soon found, to their cost, that his firmness and decision were equal to his mildness and benevolence. He dismissed the most incorrigible, suspended others, and drove at once from the coast the tribe of Aumils and Debashes. He restored the Dutch laws and regulations, to which the people were accustomed; correcting the abuses of them by slow, and almost imperceptible degrees. It is much to the credit of the East India Directors, that they supported Mr. North in these measures, and confirmed all his acts. Under the new and beneficent administration Ceylon soon wore a different aspect. Instead of an exhausted treasury, the revenue was nearly equalled to the civil expenditure. The tanks which, like every other useful work, had been neglected, and from the state of which a dreadful murrain among the cattle has arisen, were repaired, and the company of tank builders was recognised, as under the Dutch. The dykes, wharfs, warehouses, and canals that had been nearly ruined, through the neglect of the Company's officers, were put into repair. The system of paying the Modeliars and others by accommodessars, or grants of free land, was abolished, and regular pay substituted in its stead. This measure, though it caused an apparent increase of expenditure, has, in reality, proved a saving, from the additional revenue yielded by the land. It has also had the good effect of gratifying the lower orders of people, who held land on the tenure of service, by liberating them from the control of the Modeliars, who diverted

it to their own use. The Modeliars themselves were conciliated, by obliging the European officers to treat them with respect in their several districts, and by an uniform attention to their vanity and prejudices.

Such was the general spirit of Mr. North's government; and it may be affirmed, that few men ever entered the British dominions in the East with purer intentions, or more enlightened views, or left them with a higher character for honour and benevolence.

The society of Columbo is sufficiently large for every purpose of comfort and amusement. The Judges are paid higher than is even necessary, and the other efficient departments are filled by gentlemen whose allowances are sufficient for every purpose of comfort. At the head of the judicial department is Sir Edmund Carrington, a very able man, and a pupil of the late Sir William Jones in Asiatic researches. Mr. Jonville, a Frenchman, is possessed of considerable talents, and very great knowledge in several branches of natural history. To his exertions as superintendant of the cinnamon garden, may be attributed the flourishing state of the trade in that article; he has likewise collected the most important information relative to the pearl fishery. Mr. Tolfrey, who occupies several posts, is a master of the Cingalese language, and is at present engaged in composing a grammar of it. Any intelligence contained in the books of that people may therefore be expected shortly to be brought before the public. He was so obliging as to favour me with a very interesting account of the Cingalese casts, extracted from their own books, which I have given in the Appendix.

If to these gentlemen are added the military, with their amiable and respectable Commander in Chief, General Macdowal, the society

of Ceylon must be considered as equal in respectability to that of any of the Company's Presidencies. It gives me real satisfaction to observe that the good humour of the Governor has extended to all around him; no animosity is discoverable; on the contrary, every body tries to contribute to the general satisfaction.

The difficulty of procuring European articles for the table is very great in Ceylon, no ship having lately arrived from England. The only luxury is fish, which is fine and in abundance, but dear.* No splendour is attempted; but every thing is neat, and the reception is most hospitable. The hours are early, which to me was a pleasant circumstance; we were generally in bed by nine o'clock, and the refreshing sea breeze procured a repose that is unknown in the sultry plains of Bengal.

General Macdowal has taken great pains to cultivate European vegetables; in this he has not had much success. He has however procured many fruit-trees from Bengal, which will be a valuable acquisition: amongst them are the Loquot and Lichi. With care and exertion I am sure the island would produce every thing that could be wished; but at present there is nothing but what is indigenous.

The houses are in general large and cool, with verandahs the whole length of the front. They are but one story high and have no pretensions to elegance. A prejudice existed among the Dutch that the sea air was unwholesome, they therefore built all the houses in the Fort of Columbo, with their backs towards it, and by means of walls kept it off as much as possible.

* In some houses, particularly General Macdowal's, the table was well served. Mr. North, though he loved good things, could never scold, and consequently his dinners were the worst in Columbo; at which he would often laugh himself, and express his satisfaction when he was to dine out, where, as he said, we should have something eatable.

The sea coasts of the southern parts of the island, are extremely healthy. That scourge of the country, the jungle fever, has always been caught in the interior, but precisely in what situations has never been positively ascertained. It is in general supposed that an exposure to the night dews is peculiarly deleterious; the summer is most unhealthy. Calomel is the chief medicine used; it conquers the fever, but in general leaves the patient without sufficient strength to recover. They say the stomach will not bear the bark, but some have administered it with success, by adding to it large doses of laudanum. That horrible and loathsome disease, the leprosy, is by no means unfrequent. An hospital has been established for it, where the receipt given in the Asiatic Researches has had a fair trial, but, I am sorry to add, without success, though the quantity of arsenic has, I believe, sometimes proved fatal. It was tried in every manner, and with every other medicine, which might be supposed to aid its operations. A complaint, as far as I have learnt, peculiar to the island, is the berri-berri; it is in fact a dropsy, that frequently destroys in a few days. I observed the elephantiasis at Galle, and Columbo. Mr. Christie, the head of the medical staff of the island, is a very able man, and from him much important medical information may be acquired. The number of surgeons on the staff is by no means equal to the wants of the island, even if it were more healthy. The garrisons are so small, and at such a distance from each other, frequently thirty or forty miles, that a regiment requires four or five surgeons instead of two. As it is, many garrisons are at that distance from any medical assistance. The sending out of medical stores has also been shamefully neglected at home; fortunately, on application to

Madras, some were procured, but it cannot be supposed they have much to spare.

During my confinement I again read Thunberg, and was astonished at the scantiness of his intelligence respecting Ceylon, and at his having made several very singular mistakes. Among these is his having given a long list of dishes formed from the bread-fruit, when, in fact, every one of them refers to the jack, a very different fruit, and on which the natives in a great degree subsist. They are here far superior to any I tasted in India, and less disgusting in their smell. The bread-fruit is very little used by the, natives as they have an idea that it produces the leprosy. Mr. North, at my request, repeatedly ordered it to be brought to table, but this never was done; and at length his head moor servant told him it was not proper. The whole natural history of the island is little known, and no where is a finer field open to the botanist, or collector in other branches of natural history. Thunberg has done but little, and that little indifferently; neither can I confirm his veracity, particularly in his account of his rate of travelling between the different places. If the present unfortunate war should end in the establishment of the British empire over the whole of the island, travelling will become safe to places to which no European has hitherto been permitted to approach. The national liberality will, in this case I hope, open the door to every scientific traveller, or even go farther, and induce the Government to appoint some able man to investigate the whole island.



CHAPTER VII.

Departure from Columbo.—Negumbo.—Chilow—Defence of the Fort by Mr. Campbell against the Cingalese.—Andapane.—Putlam.—Voyage to Marchicotti.—Condotchi—Governor's House there.—Manaar.—Voyage to Ramisseram—Reception by the Pandaram—Visit to the Pagoda.—Panban.—Ramnad—*Visit to the* Rannie.—Arrival at Tanjore—History of the Rajah's *Family, and his elevation to* the Musnud—Visit to the Rajah—Description of his Palace—Visit returned.—Tondiman Chief of the Polygars—Arrival of a Vakeel from him.—Observations on these Tribes.—Destruction of the Panja-lam-courchy Rajahs.—War with the Murdoos Chiefs of Shevagunga.—Departure from Tanjore.—Visit to the Pagodas of Comboconum.—Cuddalore.—Arrival at Pondicherry—Description of the Town.—Plans of Buonaparte.—Capitulation of the French troops—Observations thereon.—Visit to the Seven Pagodas.—Arrival at Madras—Residence there—Visit to the Nabob of the Carnatic.—General Observations.

CHAPTER VII.

1804. My indisposition being considerably removed by the 10th of January, every preparation was made for my departure. His Excellency wrote to every station to have bearers procured for me and every thing provided for my reception. This was necessary, as the country through which I had to pass was much more wild than that from Galle. Although, from the kindness and social talents of his Excellency, I had every reason to be pleased with my stay, yet the delay of above a fortnight was, in the present instance, extremely unfortunate, as it shortened the time which I had destined to the Continent of India, in my way to Mangalore. I had received a letter from Mr. Duncan, the Governor of Bombay, informing me, that, in consequence of orders from Lord Wellesley, one of the Company's cruizers would be there early in February to convey me to the Red Sea. As it is considered advisable to sail, at the latest, in that month, I had no time to lose, and was obliged to make the best of my way to Manaar, thence to Ramiseram, and to proceed as fast as possible to Madras. On the 13th my baggage and other articles were sent off on cooleys for Negumbo, whither I meant to follow on the next day, his Excellency having kindly promised to accompany me so far on my way. The boys who were to proceed from that place were likewise sent on, and ten were hired to assist the Governor's and his aid-de-camp Major Beaver's for the first stage. I had also hired four lascaryns who could speak a little

English, and who, having nothing to carry, would be able to keep up with us the whole way.

January 14.—At seven in the morning I and Mr. Salt in palanquins, attended by my servant in a dooly, quitted Saint Sebastian, guarded by the Governor's lascaryns. The weather was pleasant and cool; the road, which is tolerably wide, was completely shaded by cocoa-nut trees, with frequent cottages, forming one entire village the whole way to the Betal river, distant three miles and a half. This river is here of a considerable size. We crossed in the usual manner; and now quitted the sea shore for a very narrow path through a close jungle, with cottages as before at every ten yards, almost concealed by the trees, till we approached Giaile, where the country around became more open. Formerly several cinnamon gardens were in this space, which were abandoned, and ordered to be sold in 1802. We reached Giaile by ten o'clock: it is seven miles from the river, and five miles from the sea; and the want of the breeze made it very sultry. We staid here till twelve to give the boys time to eat and rest; they were nevertheless soon tired, nor did we reach Negumbo till four o'clock, though only distant ten miles. We passed close to the salt marshes that are to be drained, through a country that was more open, but less picturesque, than usual. His Excellency went to Captain Blackwall's, the Commandant, where I also took up my abode. It is an old fashioned large Dutch house, like the rest I have met with, situated close to a beautiful lake, which they have ingeniously contrived to hide by a range of offices. Facing it is the fort, merely a protection against the Cingalese, for it has no defence but a mound of earth that slopes equally both in and out; on the top of which

are some old cannon. It has every appearance of having been formerly close to the sea-shore, from which at present it is some hundred yards distant. It is an universal opinion on the island, which this seems strongly to confirm, that the sea is rapidly losing ground on the western, and gaining on the eastern shore. The country around is a perfect flat, yet the lake and cocoa-nut groves formed a pretty scene, which Mr. Salt drew. The town is neat, large, and populous, with cocoa-nut and other fruit trees interspersed. The new cinnamon garden is distant only seven miles hence; the garrison is therefore more considerable for its protection.

After a very pleasant dinner, I took leave of my kind and excellent friend the Governor, and prepared to enter my palanquin, supposing of course that every thing was ready; when to my utter astonishment, it was discovered that my whole number of forty-seven boys had fled, and with them the head cooley himself, a man high in office, and having the supreme control over this class. Such an event might have been expected had I been going to Candy, where they always expect to perish; but here there seemed no motive, and the presence of the Governor made it still more extraordinary: there was however no remedy. People were sent off in every direction, particularly to the ferry at the Betal river, to have the fugitives stopped.

January 15.—Early in the morning, thirty-nine of my deserters made their appearance. They pleaded in extenuation of their conduct, that the head cooley had cheated them: instead of a dollar and a half in hand to provide themselves with food, he had only given them three or four fanams, by which means they had nothing to eat, and could not work. I considered this as a sufficient

excuse, and begged their pardon from the Governor. I had paid the head fellow the whole of their wages, but again gave it to them, leaving his punishment to his Excellency, who promised me that he should be properly flogged, dismissed from his office, and obliged to refund the money, which I begged might be given to the orphan fund. Some of the men, when I came to examine them, were objects fit for an hospital; I therefore only retained thirty-four, and the Modeliar of the place procured twenty-six new ones, who, lest they should be out of the way, were confined in an out-house. I took my dinner, and at six actually departed, with a guard of sepoys, my four lascaryns, and my Cingalese servant that spoke English, and had lived with me since my arrival at Columbo. After passing through the town, we entered a grove of cocoa-nut trees that covered the sea beach. The sand was extremely heavy, and we got on but slowly. As soon as it became dark, we found the road illuminated by fires of cocoa-nut leaves on each side, with torches of the same stuck in the sand, and others carried by women and children, who ran from village to village opposite to the palanquins. The scene was beautiful, and was occasionally heightened by the dry grass catching fire from the torches, and the flame running along the ground. This road extended four miles to the Kaymale river, which being wide, and the boats small, we could not get over at once. We were all landed by eight o'clock on a barren spit of sand between the river and sea. Here were no cocoa-nuts, no villages, and no more torches. The darkness was more unpleasant from the contrast of the gay scene we had left behind. The country was sandy, with brush-wood, sufficiently ugly to make me not regret the darkness. My boys were in high spirits, laughing and singing

through the whole night. They rested themselves for two hours at Maville, distant eight miles from the river.

January 16.—By eight o'clock in the morning we got to Chilow, distant from Maville twelve miles. The village was across a small river, the banks of which were ornamented with a very beautiful shrub, which I at first took for holly, till I found it had a large purple ringent blossom. The fort itself is the most trifling thing I ever beheld under that name. It consists of a ditch, in some parts three feet deep; with a rampart of earth that slopes equally both ways, and is about ten feet high, on the top of which is a row of hedge-stakes driven in, close to each other. In the front of this, on the edge of the ditch, is a range of trees with their branches placed outwards. This is a late addition; yet without this it stood a siege against the second Adigaar, and three thousand Cingalese. They carried on their approaches very regularly, and at length brought their batteries so near the fort that they conversed with the garrison. Mr. Campbell, who commanded, though a civil servant, had with him but sixty sepoys and Malays; yet the enemy, who could see every thing, never attempted to storm the place. He had no shot, and only a barrel and a half of powder. He was obliged to use pice,* of which he had six thousand rix-dollars in the place, and to manage his fire sparingly, as he did not know when he might be relieved. He had no great occasion to fear in other respects, for not a man was killed on his side. His havildar told him there was no use in loading with ball: "put in powder enough," said he, "and the noise will be sufficient to keep them off." Repeated offers of reward were made to the garrison, if they would

* A small copper coin.

give him up, but without effect. At length Captain Blackwall with forty men came to his assistance by water from Negumbo, and the Candian army retreated with the utmost expedition. They conceived themselves so completely masters of the country, that they did no mischief to the village, nor did they carry off any salt, of which they were in the greatest want, and of which this is one of the chief deposits. The chief of the fishermen deserted to them during the siege, and accompanied them in their flight. He is said to be erecting a fort for them in the interior, where a force of six thousand men is assembled. The advanced guard of two hundred is on the frontiers, only twelve miles distant.

The effect of the general defeat of the Candians in every point, has been the desertion of numerous families of the natives, who have sought protection in our provinces. They amount to several hundreds in this district, and have proved themselves to be firmly allied to us, by giving much valuable information. It was in consequence of this, that Mr. Campbell made a late irruption into their territories, when he burnt a large quantity of grain, and, what was of more consequence to them, spoilt one of their largest stores of salt. He means, as soon as he can procure the assistance of a few Europeans from the garrison of Negumbo, to beat up the quarters of these six thousand fellows; and such is the cowardice and military ignorance of the Cingalese, that he will probably completely effect this with one hundred men.

Mr. Campbell received me with his little garrison drawn out at the gate of the fort, and led me to his habitation, being the only house in the place, the men living in huts formed of palmyra leaves. The fort is not one hundred feet square, so that the mounds around

completely keep off the air, and assist in rendering it extremely unhealthy. After dressing, I visited the village and Catholic church: the latter is neat and large. The Padre, who is a half-cast Portuguese, informed me, that he had three districts under him, and his congregation amounted to five hundred souls. The church is finishing by subscription. The high altar is ornamented with Madonas and other images. At the foot of one of the smaller is the Padre's bed. Mr. Campbell presented me with a large Cingalese manuscript, written, as usual, on the leaves of the talapot, with an outside of wood, handsomely painted in arabesque. He had taken it in a pagoda, and called it a bible. Its relative size to the other books I have seen may intitle it to that character. He informed me that there were some very curious temples of *Buddah* at a small distance, and we were tempted to go to them, accompanied by a new guard of sepoys. The road led through an extensive open field, covered with high grass, where numerous cattle were grazing. This, at one season, is a perfect swamp, and being never mown, adds, I have no doubt, to the unhealthiness of the place. The pagodas were surrounded by some very noble specimens of the Ficus bengalensis and Caryota urens; but we were much disappointed on finding that the buildings were Malabar, dedicated to Mahadeo, with numerous brazen statues of Seeva, Vishnu, and the triad of figures. The Brahmins were miserably poor, and were thankful for a few dollars that I gave them.

Much vexed at this unprofitable delay, we hastened back, and passed the fort at three o'clock. Our road wound through an extremely close jungle of the Rhizophora and other swampy plants. We passed several branches of the river, or salt lagune, and at

length landed on a barren spit of sand, on one side of which was the sea, and on the other a salt-water river. It forms a part of the singular island of Navekarre. This has all the appearance of having formerly been covered by the sea which, I think, extended over the salt water lagune, and washed its eastern bank, where vegetation, even now, is only commencing. Near this is the little town of Chilaw, opposite to which Mr. North discovered a small pearl bank, that on trial yielded little. Some very beautiful madrepores are found here. The country was perfectly flat; not a hill in sight, or a lofty tree. We had to cross another salt-water inlet, which took up some time, so that we did not arrive at Andapane, a distance of twelve miles, till eleven at night. It is a solitary house built for the tappal * boys to stay at; nor should we have procured any thing, had not our friend sent on his servants and an excellent dinner. We slept in our palanquins within the house, which sheltered us from several very heavy showers that fell in the course of the night.

January 17.—It was a drizzly morning and very cold: I waited till eight for it to clear up, but without success. The road was along a perfect flat, intersected by salt marshes and rivulets; and the men were incessantly up to their ancles in water and mud; no wonder therefore that we only crawled along. By a list of stages with which I was furnished, a village of the name of Nadrane Colore ought to have appeared at the distance of twelve miles, where I intended to have breakfasted and rested my men; but it never came in sight; and till three o'clock I saw not a human being but our own people. The tracks of elephants were frequent, as they had passed from

* The boys that carry the post letters, from one station to another.

the jungle to some fresh-water lakes. My men were completely exhausted, and obliged to stop every ten minutes. I here quitted the island, and got on the main land. The great lagune was in full view, and on one side of it the fort of Putlam. Some boys from a village assisted me, and I arrived safe about four o'clock, having been eight hours in coming twenty miles. Captain Purdon, who commands, met me at a short distance, and conducted me to a small house built of cocoa leaves, close to the edge of the water, on the outside of the fort, but protected by a breast-work, and palisade extending from it. The fort is tolerably strong, but out of repair; economy would not permit it to be put into condition, were it of more importance than it really is. The garrison consists of sixty Malays, without an European, which is however perfectly sufficient to prevent the natives from making any use of the numerous salt pans in the neighbourhood. The country still continues flat and marshy, consequently extremely unhealthy. The jungle-fever is frequent. The late commandant, Captain O'Connel, died of it, and the want of medical assistance; there being no surgeon nearer than Kalpetty on the extremity of the island opposite. Captain Purdon has had the fever, but cured himself by large doses of laudanum and bark. He administered the same to several of his men with equal success, and declares that he has never found it fail. At present there is no bark in the stores. Major Beaver was also cured by a native medical man. The inhabitants here are Malabars. The head-man, and the chiefs of casts, came to pay their respects, and present their usual offering of limes. The first was a very fine figure, in the coast dress, with a sword by his side given by Mr. North.

I now learnt that the rains had so completely flooded the

country, that it would be impossible for me to proceed hence by land to Aripo; that the rivers had no boats on them; that there was hardly an inhabitant the whole sixty miles, and the road was infested with elephants and tigers. Boys would also be difficult to procure, though the head Malabar undertook to do it, if I should determine to proceed. Instead of these inconveniences, I was assured that I could coast it in boats the whole way, and that I should also go in much less time. I was not long in deciding, and went comfortably to bed, without having a tedious journey before my eyes for the morrow, the whole of which was to be taken up in making the necessary preparations.

January 18.—I discharged all my bearers, amounting to sixty, and on paying them, found that the whole expense of my journey to this place was under twenty pounds. We hired four boats and thirty-six men, at the rate of seven dollars eight anas per day. One of these was covered with white cloth, and floored. It was used for us to sit in, and for me to sleep in at night. In the other three, which were only coveredwith palmira leaves were the three palanquins, servants, and baggage. Our host provided us with bread, butter, and other food. The water is very bad here, which probably contributes to render the place unhealthy. Captain Purdon is preparing for an expedition against three Cingalese villages, and for this he talks of taking a sufficient detachment from a garrison consisting of only sixty men! He is in excellent spirits, though living in the seat of disease, and without a single companion: his nearest neighbour is Mr. Campbel at Chilaw.

January 19.—I was up by five, but all my exertions did not get us on board before eight. I took with me a little protegé of the

late Commandants, who speaks Malabar, Portuguese, Cingalese, and a little English, and who, as servant to Captain Purdon, would have more authority over the boatmen than my lascaryns. I had also a guard of sepoys. Our boats were small, but rowed well; our boys stout, and very fine figures. They exerted themselves to the utmost, and when the breeze would permit, hoisted sail; but it was generally against us, being the sea-breeze. Our course was north up the lagune, which is filled with islands, mostly covered with wood. It was no where so deep but the man at the head could reach the bottom with his bamboo; generally about six or seven feet of it was sufficient. I cannot but believe, from the appearance of the sand-bank that forms the outer boundary of the lagune, that this was formerly a part of the ocean. The lagune will probably soon be filled up, and the sea itself may be driven, by these gradual encroachments, to a still greater distance. Tradition speaks of very extensive tracts, which have been carried away from the Eastern shore of the island, either by the effect of the monsoon, or by some violent concussion. At present no further encroachment seems likely, for the Eastern coast is composed of rocks, and the hills near the shore are lofty, and of the most durable materials. At four we came to, at a flat jungly spot on the main land. A fisherman's hut was at a small distance, whence the rowers procured some articles for themselves. At eight the land breeze set in, and we departed with it. My bed was laid at the bottom of the boat, which being uneven, rendered me very uncomfortable. I lay in my cloaths, dressing gown, and a boat cloak, and had two shawls over me, yet the cold was so intense that I could hardly sleep, the ends of the boat being ill closed up with dry palmira leaves. The men however slept on

the outside, covered only by a slight piece of cloth, which was perfectly wet by the dew.

January 20.—I awoke just as we were quitting the lagune to enter the sea; the northern point of the island of Kurnardivo, which nearly joins the greater island, being a little astern, and the head land of Kudrah Malle being before us. This last is the point of direction for the diving boats as they return to Condotchi, from which it is distant about twenty miles. The sea was perfectly smooth, and the breeze carried us round the head land, which is high, and bears evident marks of the violent sea that breaks on it in the S.W. monsoon. The wind did not change till eleven o'clock, by which time we reached a river distant about six miles from Marchicotti: here we found many huts erected by fishermen that come annually from Columbo to fish, under the control of a head man. They salt what they take, and return with it at the end of the season. The river had a bar, over which we got with some difficulty. The alligators of all sizes were in great abundance: my servant made a ball enter one, and shot at several others as they were basking asleep on the sand, but they all escaped into the water. About five the fishing boats came back; they were built like those on the southern coast, but larger, formed out of a single tree hollowed, with sides a foot high sewed on, and an out rigger, to which the ropes were fastened. The breeze was fresh, and their sails large; they therefore came on very fast, and had a pretty effect. They would not sell us any fish, but gave one, for which we gave them money in return.

January 21.—I awoke about six, after a very comfortable night's rest, and found that we had passed Condotchi, and were close to

Aripo: opposite to these places are the celebrated pearl banks, to superintend the fisheries of which Mr. North has erected a house at the expense of four thousand pound sterling. It is certainly a pretty piece of Doric architecture, and, I believe, very pure. The outside is entirely covered with a brilliant white chunam, which has all the effect of marble. The oyster shells have been burnt to form it, and certainly answer better than any thing else. The interior is inconvenient, and small. I am surprised that Mr. North did not prefer St. Sebastian to this place, where he can reside for a few weeks only in the year. He would also there have had the benefit of beautiful scenery, and lofty shady trees; whilst here nothing can be more unsightly than the country around, which is a perfect flat, sandy, and without a tree. A garden, they say, is to be formed; but for years nothing but the ocean, and as dreary a waste on land, will be visible from the windows. We went a little farther to a bungelow built for the Governor, till the house should be finished. It was cool and spacious: near it is a little fort-like house, where a Mr. Nagle resides, who is the acting architect. From him I met a very civil reception, and staid to rest myself the whole of the day. At half after nine we re-embarked for Manaar, the breeze being favourable; by one we were at the mouth of the channel which separates that island from Ceylon. Our men were unwilling to enter it in the night, and consequently cast anchor.

January 22.—As soon as it was light we entered the channel, which is of considerable width at high water, but extremely shallow, except for a very narrow winding space, which is marked off by stakes driven into the mud. We were two hours in reaching the fort, which is the strongest I have seen since I left Columbo, having

the walls of stone, a wet ditch, and the whole in good repair. The garrison consists of above one hundred volunteers of the island, who turned out during the late disturbances, and not only defended their own little island, but passed over to attack the Candians. They were drawn out to receive me, and were a well-dressed body of men. Mr. Deane, the Judge, met me on landing, and conducted me about a quarter of a mile to his house. I had not only the usual misfortune of tom-toms and other horribly dissonant music, but also the compliment of white cloth, spread the whole way before me. As there were only five or six pieces, I was obliged to proceed very leisurely to give the men time to take them up behind me, and replace them in front. The island of Manaar produces no grain, but has a great many cocoa-nut trees and palmyras. We had some good fruit and vegetables, but these are brought from Jaffnapatnam. It is considered as extremely unhealthy, for which I cannot well account, as the sea prevents the marshes from becoming stagnant.

January 23.—At eight I proceeded to the beach with the same honours of white cloth, tom-toms, bag-pipes, &c. Four boats were ready, but extremely uncomfortable, as they had no wood laid at the bottom, and were in every respect ill found, though rather larger than those we had before. The price from this place to Ramiseram for a large boat is twenty-five dollars, and for the next size twenty dollars: they are not paid by the day, but for the job. I found there were but eight men and a tindal* to my boat, instead of twelve. We continued to go up the Manaar straits, with the N.E. monsoon right against us; which obliged the men to push the boats along with poles, and occasionally to hawl her. The channel con-

* Pilot.

tinued to wind, and was equally marked out by stakes. Could it be made straighter, and deepened, it would be a most valuable acquisition to the coasting trade: as it is, none but small vessels attempt to pass. By twelve o'clock we were in the open sea, and hoisting sail, attempted to run along the shore due west; but our boat made so much leeway, that by three we were fast aground. The other boats sailed much better, and stood on without minding us, in consequence of which we were separated. Mr. Salt was obliged at night to walk on some miles to seek his boat; and I retired to mine, where I could procure but little rest from the effects of a heavy swell. The boatmen attempted several times to proceed, but without much success till towards morning, when the wind fortunately lulled a little.

January 24.—At eight Talmanaar was in sight, whither I went, and joined the rest of the party. I changed my old boat for one that used to carry the tappal, and added to the number of my men. This, however, kept me at Talmanaar the whole day. We took up our residence under a very fine Hibiscus populneus; procured excellent fowls, eggs, and milk; and to add to our comforts, purchased a cocoa-nut tree, which we cut down for the cabbage at top. A little child was the owner of the spot, and was brought to me to receive the price. A more singular contrast cannot exist than between this extremity of Ceylon, and the southern, where we landed. It is a dreary barren spot, and the habitation of only a few fishermen. The tappal sails from hence for Ramiseram, which lies nearly west, distant about thirty miles, Adam's bridge being on the left hand the whole way. We all went on board at night, as we were to sail with the earliest dawn.

January 25.—At half after five we set sail with a very brisk monsoon from the north and by east, accompanied by a heavy swell. My new boat sailed well, and kept ahead of the others. It was however too rough to be pleasant, as we were constantly gunwale to. Before seven we were out of sight of land. We lay our course, and by nine the hills of Ramiseram, with the lofty towers of a pagoda, appeared right a-head. As we approached, the latter made a very magnificent appearance. At eleven I landed. The chief of the pagoda or Pandaram was waiting on the beach, surrounded by his Brahmins, nautch-girls, elephants, state palanquins, banners, tom-toms, &c. All the native officers of the island under the India Company were also waiting, and pressed around to present their nazurs of limes, and make their salaams. I received the fruit as I moved on, and, on enquiry, found one officer that spoke English. I afterwards was much indebted to his attention, he having been dispatched to receive me; his name was Apoo Pilly, and he was supreme over the whole island, as Aumildar of Panban, the capital. He brought me a very polite letter from Colonel Marting, commanding at Ramnad, inviting me to his house; and also one from Mr. Latham, the Judge, informing me that he had sent me a Naig* and ten delogets* of the court to attend me.

Directly opposite to the landing-place a choultry had been cleaned and prepared for me. In the front of it a space was inclosed with white cloth. An awning of the same was spread over, and the pillars that supported it had plantain trees stuck up against them, with the fruit and flowers. These, with their noble leaves, had a very handsome effect. In the centre a scarlet canopy was

* An inferior native officer and privates, that act only for civil purposes.

suspended, and under it a musnud raised about a foot from the ground. On this I seated myself, with the Pandaram on my right hand. He was a very fat and fine looking lad of about fourteen years of age; his head was shaved all over; on the top he wore a large chaplet of red coral and brown beads, with gold and scarlet silk tassels hanging down behind: he had a necklace of the same. His dress was of scarlet cloth, scarcely covering his breast and shoulders, but in other respects amply sufficient. He did not embrace in the Asiatic style, but presented his hand to me in the English fashion. When seated, he first presented a nazur of fifteen pagodas, which I touched and declined: afterwards were laid at my feet a tray of shawls and gold gauze, together with a profusion of fine fruit. As it was very hot, I immediately employed my delogets to keep off the crowd. After having paid and received the usual compliments, I expressed a wish to dress. All my visitors accordingly took their leave, except Apoo, and the people belonging to him. Certainly my appearance was not very well calculated for ceremony at that time; I had not been shaved for three days; and the whole of my dress and person had partaken of no small share of the filth of the boat. Mr. Salt, who had suffered by sea-sickness, and was a still more wretched figure, arrived in the middle of the confusion. During the time we were dressing a most excellent breakfast was prepared, which thoroughly cured his illness.

After breakfast, Mr. Salt and I paid a visit to the pagoda. We passed through the village, which had been decorated on the occasion with green plantain trees stuck at each door, and strings of leaves suspended across the street. The houses were very uniform, one story high, thatched, with verandahs in front; the space

underneath being raised about two feet from the ground, and painted red and white in stripes. The entrance to the pagoda was through a very lofty gateway, I should suppose about one hundred feet high, covered with carved work to the summit. It was pyramidically oblong, and ended in a kind of sarcophagus. The door was about forty feet high, and composed of single stones placed perpendicularly with others crossing over. This massive workmanship reminded me of the ruins of Egyptian architecture. We next entered a cloister, that led through a triple row of pillars to a square, cloistered all around. The inside was concealed, in part, by walls, and within were the sacred temples. The pillars were three deep, and had carved figures of deities in the front. The square seemed to be about six hundred feet in size. The whole was well executed, and was the finest piece of architecture I had seen in the East. The young Pandaram, attended by his Brahmins, met us, but objected to our passing so far as to be parallel to the Holy of Holies. Several small temples were beyond the range of pillars, and in one compartment was a tank. The whole building is surrounded by a lofty wall. We passed out at a second gateway on the side, which was never finished, but was intended to be as large as the northern one, by which we entered.

Passing along the outside, we went to the south, where was the entrance to the temples. In the centre was a small one dedicated to Mahadeo; on the right, as you faced it, was a very large one unfinished, dedicated to Rama-Swamee; and on the left, a smaller, complete, where his wife Seta resided. The front was ornamented with red painting, and innumerable figures of different deities: before Mahadeo's was a tank. The whole had a very mag-

nificent appearance, and was drawn by Mr. Salt: words cannot describe it. There are two anti-rooms to Seta's temple, with an open space between them. We were permitted to approach the entrance of the second, and hence to view the inside of the Holy of Holies. The mysterious gloom was by no means sufficiently dissipated by the lamps to enable me to distinguish accurately, as the temple retired back a considerable way. I could perceive a brazen pillar ending in a vane of three cross bars, and surmounted by a bird. The goddess was beyond, seemingly richly dressed. The Pandaram himself is not permitted to enter the innermost temple, nor any one but the attendant Brahmins, who live in the town, and have their share of the offerings. Rama's temple is, within, like his wife's, except that a large brazen Lingam is in front of him, where the pillar stood in the other. I was told that the deities were only raised a little from the ground, which was the reason I could not perceive them. They were extremely anxious that I should not press to go farther, as my declining it would be a precedent to them to refuse others. As I conceive it essentially advantageous to the British nation that it should never violate the religious prejudices of the natives, I did every thing that they requested. In the entrance-temples were a variety of statues, some painted red and black, some plain: the architecture was altogether handsome. Without the door were the carriages on which the gods were occasionally borne: they are of wood, ornamented with carving, and are drawn along by men.

I next paid the Pandaram a visit at his habitation, where I was presented with fruit and wreaths of the Jasminum sambac, which were put round my neck and arms. Many compliments passed on

both sides, through the medium of my interpreter. I was not a little amused with their requesting my protection for their deity. I now took my leave with great professions of regard, and dismissing the tom-toms, trumpets, and nautch-girls, wandered back along the sea shore to our choultry. The rocks are of the stone with which the temple is built.

I regretted much that my ignorance of the language prevented my learning perfectly the constitution of the place, which seems singular. The Aumildar, who spoke English and French, was a very intelligent man, and informed me that the island belongs to the Rannie of Ramnad; that the priests hold a part of it under her, for which they pay only twelve hundred pagodas per annum, having a profit on this of at least five thousand. They also pay no duties, and have several other privileges both here and in Ceylon. The concourse of pilgrims is very great, and brings in very large sums, as each pays according to his rank. The Rajah of Tanjore was expected here last year, but he could not afford it, as his presents, and other expenses, would amount to the enormous sum of sixty thousand pagodas; since he would be bound in duty to bring all his family with him on so holy a pilgrimage. The deity uses no water but what is brought by faquirs, the whole way from the Ganges: it is poured over him every morning, and is then sold to the devout; thus bringing in a considerable addition of revenue. The greater part of their income is appropriated to the Pandaram, and his relations, who have possessed the supreme power about seventy years. Ramnada is the name of the boy who now reigns: he succeeded his uncle; and, as he is not permitted to marry, will be succeeded, in his turn, by his nearest male relation. They plead

poverty, but are certainly very rich. I think it would be fair to oblige them to finish the temple, which is really a national ornament. They told us there were one thousand pillars in it; but this seems a fixed number; and as it was evidently built at different times, it is improbable that such exactness should be observed. I do not doubt that there are nearly double the number.

Mr. Salt staid to complete his drawings, and in consequence had an opportunity of seeing the gods carried in state to be bathed in the sea, at the extreme point of the island, which is considered as most holy. It was formerly much farther off, but the sea makes continual incroachments. The great Rama embarked from this spot to drive Rawan and his evil spirits from Ceylon: hence arises the holiness of the place. The images were covered with jewels, and the heads alone were visible, which were of gold. The elephant on which they rode was richly adorned: but few of the chief Brahmins attended, nor was the crowd very great. They stopped to show them to Mr. Salt; when the Aumildar, though of the Hindoo religion, observed to him, "a pretty way this to get money out of people's pockets."

At eight in the evening I set off in my palanquin, attended by the Aumildar of Panban, and the Naig of the delogets on horseback. In two hours I reached Panban, distant nine miles. The road was paved the whole way, which had been done at different times by holy and affluent men. Nearly every hundred yards was a choultry,* and its attendant Brahmins. They were all drawn out to make their salaams as I passed, and the chief regularly presented me with fruit and flowers. The Aumildar's residence was neat, and he had

* A building, generally of stone, for the reception of travellers.

prepared for me a musnud of white cloth. The steps leading to it, and the whole floor, and ceiling, were covered with the same. Plantain trees surrounded the pillars, and added greatly to the effect. The room was well lighted up, and the crowds of people, whose heads were only on a level with the floor, were kept off by servants with flambeaus. A nautch immediately began, and continued whilst the presents of fruit were laid at my feet, and distributed by me to my followers. I staid as short a time as possible, and then, with the same attendance, went on to the ferry, distant about a mile. Here the Aumildar had erected a small temporary house in case he boats should not be ready, and had also formed a pier by which I could get close to them. There were ten in waiting, all belonging to the Rannie of Ramnad. I enquired why he had ordered so many: he said he conceived a man of my rank must have a great many followers, and a great deal of baggage. I told him, that, had that been the case, I should have found it impracticable to travel through Ceylon, and that I had nothing with me but what was absolutely necessary. My boat was, like the rooms, covered with white cloth, with a canopy of the same, supported by pillars of plantain.

The strait here is about a mile wide. This, and the one at Manaar, are the only passages for communication between the Coromandel and Malabar coasts, without going round Ceylon. Unfortunately, neither is passable except for small vessels: the bed of this strait is rocky: the entrance from the north is only one hundred feet wide, between two rocks; and as another directly faces it, great caution is required to pass safely between them. The current is extremely rapid. We were guided to the landing place by lights on the shore. I found

the Rannie's people ready to receive me, and a temporary house erected for me to rest in: a profusion of fruit was presented in her name, which I distributed to my people, and at a little after eleven I set off for Ramnad. The night was so much warmer than I had been used to, that I slept in my bed-gown only, with the door of my palanquin occasionally open. The sands were very heavy, the country very dreary, and the salt marshes frequent.

January 26.—I was met two miles from Ramnad by Colonel Marting's Adjutant, with a note from the Colonel, expressing his sorrow that he could not meet me himself. Soon afterwards the whole of the Rannie's suwarry made their appearance. The morning was hot, and I would willingly have dispensed with the dust which was raised by the elephants and soldiers. My men were very much tired; but fortunately the old lady had sent her bearers, and they got on quickly. By nine I arrived at the Colonel's house in the fort, which is distant thirty miles from Panban. I found him a most excellent and pleasant man. He is a Portuguese, and has been forty-four years in India, thirty of which he has spent at Ramnad. He is Colonel of a local corps raised by himself, and is an universal blessing to the surrounding inhabitants. The house he lives in was built by himself: the spot is improved as much as possible, more for the sake of the employment it gives to the poor, than for his own satisfaction. It is within the walls of the fort, which was commenced by the Rannie's ancestors, but never completed. The palace adjoins to it; a gloomy building, with lofty walls, and no windows on the outside. Within the fort is also a large tank, on the banks of which are an old pagoda, now a poultry-house of the Colonel's, the tomb of the Rannie's late husband, and a Protestant church of

very neat architecture, towards the erecting of which the Honourable Company gave seven hundred pagodas, and the Colonel, though a Catholic, gave nine hundred, for which he was much abused by the people of his own persuasion. Here are also barracks, and a black town. The walls are externally completed, and are handsome, of massive stones, with loop-holes at the top. It is still in good repair, but has no cannon mounted, as there is no rampart within. I found an excellent breakfast prepared, with all the gentlemen of the place invited to meet me. The Aumildar sent a present of fruit, amongst which were some mangoes that weighed nearly two pounds each. From the Rannie I received a similar present, with salaams, and an enquiry after my health.

January 27.—After breakfast I went to visit the Rannie, attended by Mr. Salt, Colonel Marting, and Mr. Brown, the Commercial Resident. We entered the walls of the palace in our palanquins, but were soon obliged, by the narrow door-ways, to quit them. The building is of stone, but without any thing handsome in the architecture. The walls were covered with carvings of deities, and little statues of them were to be met with in niches at every corner. After several windings, we entered a door-way, which opened into a small court, in the centre of which was a building of massive stone, with pillars of the same, and steps to ascend to it. In it was a musnud, with a carpet, and a little on one side were chairs on a white cloth. The Rannie met us at the bottom of the steps, and presented her hand; she then introduced to me her adopted son, a very fine little boy of about seven years old. After a few compliments through Colonel Marting, we all seated ourselves. She was very plainly dressed, her husband not having been dead a year;

and till the expiration of that term she can wear no jewels. A drapery of white muslin covered her from her waist downwards; above that she had a large piece of muslin with a gold border. This was wrapped loosely round her, and in part showed her skin: the ends came forward, and with one of them she frequently covered her mouth and the lower part of her face. Her head was uncovered; her hair long, and a little grey; in her ears she had very large and heavy gold ear-rings, that touched her shoulders, stretching her ears to a hideous length. In person she was rather tall, extremely thin, with black teeth and a wide mouth: her age about forty.

The good lady could never have been a very tempting object; but she was a princess, and brought this country in marriage to her husband; she is also cheerful and good-natured. It is said that they lived very happily together. Her brother formerly held the country under the India Company; but force was always requisite to make him pay his kists, or tribute; and to avoid this he was even known to conceal his money in pots in the earth. At length the Madras Government was tired of his evasions; he was attacked and deposed, and has since remained a prisoner at Madras. Having no issue, terms were made with his sister: she pays to the Company two thirds of the clear revenue, which payment amounts to 90,000 pagodas per annum. There remains 45,000 for herself: by different means she makes it up to 50,000; a sum more than adequate to maintain her in splendour. She is rich, and has many jewels: the little boy was covered with them. The brilliants in his bracelet were particularly fine, and are said to have been part of the plunder of Seringapatam. He had also a chain of emeralds and rubies, that would be very valuable were they not perforated, and a string of

large pearls. The old lady's designation is Rannie Sudoopuddy Munglasoovary Natchiar. The first is a title; the second designates her power over Ramiseram, of which she is paramount; the third is her name; the fourth marks her as eldest daughter.

After some easy conversation, she rose from her seat, and taking her boy by the hand, brought him and placed him in my arms, requesting my protection for him. This, of course, was promised; and I was entertained with a list of the child's accomplishments. After staying about half an hour we hinted a wish to go. She presented with her own hands a pair of shawls to me, put a wreath of yellow flowers round my neck, and sprinkled rose-water on my hands and handkerchief. Mr. Salt had a shawl and flowers. She then went with us to the door, where we shook hands and parted.

January 28.—The pleasing and cordial manners of my host had made me not in the least regret that I had been obliged to stay here an additional day, to have bearers laid part of the way to Tanjore, and to give Captain Blackburn, the Resident there, time to send some from that place to meet me. The Colonel had taken every trouble on himself, and the gentlemen of the settlement had kindly lent me all their palanquin-boys to expedite my journey; yet with all this it was impossible to procure a sufficient number for Mr. Salt to accompany me; he therefore remained a day behind. The coast boys do not carry the baggage slung on a bamboo across the shoulder, but each man carries only one parcel on his head; I therefore required double the number that I did in Bengal. I had also twelve bearers for my palanquin, and eight for my servant's dooley. I breakfasted with Mr. Browne, the Commercial Resident, and at ten took my leave of him, and the excellent Colonel Marting.

As we passed the fort, it had a handsome effect, from its lofty and massive walls, with the pagodas and palace rising above them, seen from a country that was perfectly flat. The road was very unpleasant, being over rice fields that were preparing for their crops. Some people were employed in letting off the water from the tanks, where it had been kept above the level of the country; others were ploughing with oxen, ancle deep in mud and water; others again were raising the mounds round the small divisions, by which to preserve a sufficient depth of water. Our boys had to wade through this, and to lift the palanquin over the mounds, which were occasionally very high. The Naig of the delogets was on horseback; his man waded by my side. By eleven we reached a pagoda of the same form as the one at Ramiseram. The building at the entrance was handsome, and pyramidal. The first temple was built of large stones, and supported by pillars covered with carved deities; it had a brazen pillar in it, which passed through the roof, and was surmounted by a peacock: before it was the Lingam of black stone. The second temple they would not permit me to enter; but by the dim light of the lamps, I could distinguish that a chain of temples ran a great way backwards, gradually lowering and narrowing till they ended in a small temple with a cupola, under which was the deity. There were a few low steps to each division, but no communication with the open air. The priest made an offering of rice whilst I was there, bent down, and frequently rang a little bell. A lofty wall surrounded the whole, and a choultry was built opposite to it. By half after twelve I got to Devipatam, a straggling village nine miles from Ramnad. It was very hot, though there was a pleasant breeze from the sea, which we here reached again after having quitted it at Panban. I rested my

people for an hour, and enjoyed myself under the shade of a choultry, close to the shore. Before three we got to another choultry and tank at Trippaulgoody, distant five miles. Here we rested and took a repast. We reached Tindy, distant sixteen miles, by half after eight, where I received the usual nazur of limes, and found arches erected across the road covered with green boughs. I proceeded at nine, and during the night passed several waters, some of which were rather deep. By three in the morning I got to Cotapatam, distant twenty-five miles, where I again changed boys.

January 29.—By nine I reached Chadoobabah, distant twenty-one miles. Mr. Hawkins of Terichinopoly has a bungelow here, to which he retires during the heat of summer to enjoy the sea breeze. Fortunately for me he had been here several days to dispatch a vessel belonging to him. He received me very civilly, and kindly acted as my interpreter, by which means I soon got my boys together. At twelve I set off again; the day very hot, notwithstanding the breeze. We now quitted the sea shore, as it here makes a rapid turn to the east, till it ends in Point Callamere. The whole country was in high cultivation; consequently the paddy fields were nearly impassable. At small distances were choultrys and pagodas, in the front of which were several gigantic figures of richly ornamented horses, formed of bricks covered over with chunam. These were mixed with fruit trees and lofty banians, which rendered the scenery less tame than might have been expected from the flatness of the country. By four I arrived at Puttahcottah, distant fifteen miles, where I expected to meet the boys from Tanjore. None however were there, and the same boys were induced to go fifteen miles farther to a tappaul house, where we rested all night.

January 30.—As no boys had made their appearance from

Tanjore, I prevailed upon those who brought me here to go on fifteen miles farther to that place. By eight I met a servant of Captain Blackburn, with a letter, which cleared up the mistake. There are, it seems, two ways from Ramnad to Tanjore; the one, which I came, by the sea-shore; the other through the hills and Poligar country, where is the capital of Tondiman, the chief of those tribes called Poodoocottah. By a mistake of Colonel Marting, from whose memoranda I had copied, I had desired the boys to be stationed at the latter place, instead of the former. Captain Blackburn thought my inclination had led me to choose that road, to visit the court of Tondiman, who is one of these half-savage chieftains, resembling in their power and manners, the European lords of feudal times; but fortunately he had also supposed it possible that a mistake of the names might have taken place; and had sent off two bandys this road to meet me. I got into one, and soon arrived at his house at Tanjore, a distance from Ramnad of one hundred and twenty-one miles, which I travelled in forty-eight hours. I found my host a most gentlemanly and well informed man. The house in which he resides, was built by himself, and, for its size, is the pleasantest I have entered in India. After breakfast I received a present of fruit from the Rajah, with enquiries after my health, and congratulations on my arrival: to-morrow was fixed for paying him a visit.

In consequence of letters from Lord Wellesley, Lord William Bentinck had issued orders for my being every where received with the utmost attention. Being the first nobleman that ever visited Tanjore, the Rajah was much pleased with the idea of receiving me. He acceded to every proposal of Captain Blackburn's,

as to the etiquette to be observed on our meeting, and it was settled that we should visit as equals.

Serfagee, the present Rajah, is the adopted son of Tuljagee, who died in 1786. To make an adoption valid by the Hindoo law, three things are necessary; first, that the person adopted should be an infant; secondly, that he should be taken from the family of the nearest relation; and, thirdly, that the consent of the immediate heir should be obtained. Tuljagee complied with none of these, and consequently at his death the India Company set aside the claims of Serfagee, and placed on the musnud Amerring, the brother of the Rajah. Part of the security that the English had received from the Nawaub of the Carnatic, to pay their subsidy, was the revenue of Tanjore, and the Rajah was bound by treaty not to mortgage it to any one. He however did do it, and the original mortgage deed was obtained by the Resident, and sent to Lord Hobart at Madras. His Lordship wished to have immediately removed the Rajah, but Sir John Shore pertinaciously opposed it, and would not even permit the decision to be delayed till a reference could be made to England. Amerring continued to govern the country; but his mismanagement became at length so evident, that it was considered necessary to propose to him a treaty, by which he was to give up to the British, the civil and military controul of Tanjore. Encouraged by the impunity that had attended his former misconduct, he refused to comply, and set the Company at defiance. In the mean time the young Serfagee had been educated carefully, first at Madras, and afterwards under the respectable Danish missionary, Mr. Schwartz. It was naturally wished by the India Government that he had been acknowledged, instead of his uncle; and conceiv-

ing there might be still some doubts on the subject of the adoption, they referred the whole business to the Pundits, who, with an ingenuity that would have done credit to the Sorbonne itself, decided, that though the adoption of Serfagee had been deficient in every necessary formality, yet that it only caused a great sin in Tuljagee, but did not vitiate the title of the child to the musnud. Fortified by such a decision, Amerring was immediately deposed, but had an allowance left him of twenty-five thousand pagodas per annum, and a country palace, where he resided under the protection of his nephew, with whom he continued on most friendly terms, till 1802, when he died. Serfagee, in 1799, executed the treaty that had been proposed to his uncle, giving up the management of the country to the British, reserving to himself several palaces, the Tranquebar tribute of two thousand pagodas, a clear allowance of one lac of pagodas, and one-fifth of the overplus revenue after the expenses, military and civil, are paid, which amounts to nearly two lac more. These sums are fully adequate to his necessary expenses, and to keep up the dignity of an Asiatic prince. He is in fact more affluent than his predecessors, who, though nominally in possession of the revenue, had about six lac of pagodas to pay the Company for maintaining the army, and one lac for the interest of debts, and the religious establishment of the pagodas, both of which the Company have taken on themselves. The arrangement has been equally advantageous to the Company, and to the inhabitants. By the prudent management of Mr. Harris, the Collector, order and activity has been introduced, the people are protected and encouraged to labour; consequently the produce has been greater, and the revenue has rapidly increased. No part of India has gained more by

coming under the British controul than Tanjore, for in former times no country suffered so much from hostility. It was in one point more open to injury than any other, its existence almost depending upon the preservation of the prodigious mounds which have been raised at Coiladdy, to prevent the waters of the Cauveri from rejoining the Coleroon, after they have separated near Terichinopoly. The former branch of the Acundacauveri is subdivided again and again, and by its different canals carries fertility into the whole plain, from Devicottah to Point Callamere, a district which, were it not for the labour of men in procuring a supply of water, would be a barren sand. The French were fully aware of this, and in the war of 1754 attempted the destruction of the mounds, but failed through the exertions of the English. War has long ceased in these fertile provinces, and the union of the peninsula under one controlling power has rendered the return of it highly improbable.

The Rajah is not obliged by treaty to keep up any military force; but the Madras government having, as a favour, given him the possession of the two forts of Tanjore, he has established a garrison of fifteen hundred men, and keeps the walls in excellent repair, at an expense of fifty thousand pagodas per annum. The education he received during the time of his adversity was far superior to that of Asiatics in general. He speaks the English language with fluency and propriety, and has been thoroughly attached to our Government by the conciliatory and respectful conduct which has been uniformly pursued towards him. To a man of sense, which he certainly is, the rapidly increasing prosperity of his country must be gratifying, and the strict attention to the religious prejudices of the inhabitants ties him still closer to us.

In no part of India does the Hindoo religion preserve so much power or splendour as on the coast of Coromandel. As the Mussulmaun conquests were never permanent here, the places of worship remain in their original state, and their vast endowments are untouched. In almost every village is a pagoda with its lofty gateways of massive, and not inelegant architecture, where a great number of Brahmins are maintained either by the revenues formerly established, or by an allowance from the government. The great roads which lead to these holy places are lined with choultries, built for the accommodation of the pilgrims, where frequently Brahmins attend to relieve their wants. These sacred men are here the chief holders of land, and according to their laws, perform every office of husbandmen, except following the plough. As a body they have also extensive free lands, but their titles, were they examined into, would in many instances be found defective: prudence will probably prevent this from being done. The profit, which might result from it, would but ill compensate for the certainty of alienating their minds, which are at present strongly attached to us by the protection which they receive, and by an additional allowance out of the revenue of forty-five thousand pagodas per annum, which is distributed to the poorer temples, according to a traditionary custom of the Rajahs. The deposition of the late Rajah, and the elevation of the present, have shown, that the Brahmins may be induced to sanction any wish of the British Government; through them therefore the natives may be ruled with safety, and their very prejudices rendered assistant in securing our Government.

As my stay was to be so short, I accepted Major Marting's invitation to breakfast with him in the small fort; it is distant about a

mile from Captain Blackburn's house. This fort was given up to the Rajah by our treaty with him; but, in case of war, we reserved a right to re-occupy it: this we have now done; and Major Marting has raised a new corps of very fine lads, who are rapidly advancing to a state of discipline under his active exertions. He resides at present in an old choultry, which has been fitted up for his use by the Rajah, which is handsome, and pleasantly situated. After breakfast we went to see the fort. It is a mile round, very strong, and in good repair; the walls are lofty, and built of large stones: on the corners of the ramparts are cavaliers; the ditch is broad and deep, and cut out of the solid rock, and has a well formed glacis. It joins on one side to the large fort, which is fortified in a similar manner, and in which the Rajah lives. It had gone to decay, but he is repairing it at a great expense: his troops are the only garrison.

Within the small fort is the celebrated pagoda, the chief building of which is the finest specimen of the pyramidal temple in India. It has been drawn by Mr. Daniell with some little embellishments. The Rajah was extremely anxious that I should not request to enter it. He said, if I did not insist on it, no one else could; of course I complied with his request, but went to the door to view the bull of black granite, which Mr. Daniell has also drawn, but incorrectly as to the number of pillars supporting the roof over it, and the space between each of them. It is said to be one of the finest specimens of the ancient arts in India: the Rajah had a drawing made of it for me, on a scale, by a country draftsman of great merit. Previously to the treaty between the present Rajah and the Madras Government, the garrison had possession of the

pagoda, which the Brahmins had quitted. On its restoration, the Rajah had it purified at a very great expense, and sentinels are now placed to prevent any one from entering. The Brahmins met us at the gate, and presented fruit and flowers. Opposite the gateway of the pagoda is a pyramidal building, nearly similar, on the walls; at present it serves as a depot for stores. We afterwards mounted the ramparts, which, being higher than the surrounding wall of the pagoda, gave us a full view of the interior. The great temple itself is certainly a very beautiful piece of architecture, and different in its top and ornaments from any other I have met with. We saw the remains of Monsieur Lally's lines, when he ineffectually besieged the place, which was much too strong for a coup-de-main, and he had not the means of a regular siege. He however, as usual, *did all the* mischief he could to the neighbourhood. From one of the cavaliers was a very beautiful view: the pagoda formed a foreground; then appeared the large fort with the Rajah's palace and pagodas; behind that, a rich country covered with rice fields and topes; and beyond all, a chain of lofty mountains. The cannon was only begun to be mounted on the walls; when once that shall be completely finished, it will require a very strong army to besiege it, and a very powerful battering train to form a breach.

Twelve was the hour appointed for visiting the Rajah, and we were punctual to our time. On entering the great fort I was saluted with seventeen guns, and found his guards drawn out, who presented arms; they were remarkably neatly dressed, and in a good state of discipline. The palace is an old building, with several lofty towers, surrounded by a high wall. The great square, into which we first entered, has never been finished. The passages that led to

the durbar were narrow, and soon obliged us to quit our palanquins. The moment I came in sight, he arose from his musnud, and met me at the door of the durbar: he shook hands, and in very good English expressed his high delight at having the honour of receiving me at his palace. He then took my hand, and led me to a chair on the right of his musnud; Captain Blackburn was seated on his left, and three of his courtiers: his attendants stood behind and around. He was dressed in the Mahratta fashion, with few jewels, but a bunch of very handsome pearls hung over his turban. The room was not large, but very cool; it formed one side of a square, nearly filled by a tank, in the centre of which was raised a small apartment, that communicated by steps with that in which we were sitting. Every thing was handsome and in excellent repair. The facility and propriety with which he expressed himself in English was to me a great satisfaction. It was the first time I had been able to converse with a native prince, except through an interpreter. The Nawaub Vizier is the only man with whom I could have had as much pleasure in free conversation. The Rajah's manners are excellent, and good nature beams from his countenance. He is young, fat, and handsome, with a full black beard, and rather a fair complexion. His Highness has two wives, but has had hitherto no issue: should he continue without any, the children of his deposed uncle will become his heirs; a circumstance which is by no means improbable.

Formerly the India Company gave the title of King to the ruler of Tanjore, and addressed him as Majesty: they found this to be absurd, as he is a feudatory to the Nawaub of the Carnatic, and have changed it to Excellency, which being ever appro-

priated to those who represent Majesty, is equally absurd: Highness is certainly his proper title. He expressed his gratitude to the English nation, and assured me his attachment was unalterable. Of the sincerity of this declaration he gave a very convincing proof on the breaking out of the Polygar war, when, at three hours notice, his little army was ready to march, under the command of Captain Blackburn, to oppose the enemy, who had made an irruption into the country.

I assented with great pleasure to a proposal of his to show me some part of the palace, and was conducted by him to a very large and excellent room up stairs, where, he informed me, he generally lived. It was carpeted, and had English chairs. Opposite to each other were four bookcases, filled chiefly with English books, amongst which I was not a little pleased with discovering my grandfather Lord Lyttelton's, History of Henry the Second, which I immediately pointed out to his Excellency. One side of the room opened to a verandah; the opposite side was covered with portraits of the Tanjore Princes of the Mahratta dynasty, downwards in succession, from Sevagee its founder.

This celebrated chieftain had two sons; the eldest succeeded to his power at Poonah, and is represented by the Rajah of Satarah. Eccogee, the second son, was the commander of a body of forces, sent, in 1680, by his father, to assist the Hindoo Prince of Tanjore, who was attacked by another prince that ruled over Terichinopoly. Eccogee easily raised the siege of the capital, but only retired to a village at the distance of five miles, whence he sent to demand a remuneration, which his unfortunate ally was unequal to advance. An arrangement was however made after a negotiation of six months,

and Eccogee declared he would depart, but that he wished first to pay his compliments to the Prince in his fort; which was assented to, on condition of his bringing with him only a small escort. The day was fixed, as is customary by the astrologers, who also, by his orders, warned Eccogee that it would be unfortunate if he entered the fort before six in the evening. Accordingly at that hour he advanced with only one hundred horse; but he had previously introduced a great number of his men, disguised, with their daggers concealed under their dress. On entering the gate, he pushed on for the palace with sixty horse, leaving the forty to be joined by a body that he had ordered to follow him, which they did unobserved in the dusk of the evening. The whole immediately overpowered the guard, and rushed on to support their master, which they were in time to do. The Prince and most of his family were put to death, and Eccogee took possession of the sovereignty, which has remained in his family to the present day.

The pictures were in handsome gilt frames, painted on canvas by a native artist, from drawings on the walls of the palace, many of which were going to decay. They had considerable merit, and were interesting, as being likenesses of persons who had made a conspicuous figure on the theatre of English politics. Hung up against the wall were several native musical instruments, somewhat resembling a guittar, richly ornamented with diamonds and pearls. The Rajah made one of his people play several tunes, and amongst others, God save the King, and Marlbrook. In one corner was an English pedal harp, his favorite instrument; but as it is beneath his dignity to be supposed to understand music, I could not request him to play. He however composes tunes, and is trainiug an English band,

having sent to Europe for instruments. The upper part of the walls was covered with carved deities: he told me he had them there to show to Christians, who could not see the more holy ones in the temples. The staircases are as bad as in Bengal.

He next conducted me to a room he called his drawing-room; the walls were covered with prints and pictures of every possible kind. It was furnished with English chairs and tables; and on the latter were paper, colours, and every implement of drawing, another amusement of which he is very fond. In short, it seems to me, that he passes his life in a course of rational amusement and study. How different from the generality of Asiatic princes, who are either slaves to ambition, or sunk in the debauchery of the harem! We now returned to the durbar, and I proposed to take my leave. Flowers were brought by a servant. He put a large wreath of yellow, mixed with green, round my neck, smaller ones round my wrists, and a nosegay of the same colours into my hands. These were profusely wet with rose-water. A string of small pearls, to which was suspended a jewel of uncut emeralds and rubies, was also put round my neck. The same ceremony then took place with Captain Blackburn. Dresses of kincaub in the piece, with shawls, were laid at our feet, and carried away by our servants. Mr. Salt had no jewel, but, in other respects, was treated as we were.

We now took our leave, and were conducted to the door by the Rajah. We then went, attended by some of his people, to see the rest of the palace. They first conducted us to his public durbar for administering justice. It is a lofty and large room, forming one side of a quadrangle. The pillars, when he sits there, are covered with ornaments: at present they are plain wood, and ugly. Near

this was his workshop, where I saw a whimsical carriage with six wheels. The body was octagonal, about four feet in diameter, with windows all around: the wood work richly carved and gilt. In the front is an organ that plays as the wheels go round; and before this a clock, and a machine to mark the distance he travels.

The next apartment was much more interesting. It was the durbar of the native Gentoo Princes, far exceeding in size and magnificence that erected by their Mahratta conquerors. The pillars were of black stone, lofty and massive; the roof was of vast masses of the same. The musnud was raised in the centre about three feet from the ground. It was sixteen feet by eighteen, and two feet thick, of one piece of black granite, like the bull in the pagoda. Surprised that they should prefer their own building to this really royal throne, I enquired the reason, and was told that the first Prince of this dynasty died a few days after he had been seated on it; that it was therefore considered as unfortunate by his successors, and had been totally abandoned. Like the other, it forms one side of a quadrangle, but has pillars around, and on one side a lofty tower, like those at the entrance of the pagodas, which adds much to its magnificence. The heat was great, and I was now heartily tired; I therefore declined any farther researches, and returned to Captain Blackburn's, having received another salute of seventeen guns as I left the fort.

February 1.—At ten His Excellency the Rajah arrived at Captain Blackburn's to return my visit. He was on horseback, dressed as yesterday, and attended by his cavalry and other troops. His General was at their head, distinguished by wearing a steel glove similar to the ancient armour, which reached up to his elbow.

His suwarry was not numerous or splendid. His chief mark of dignity was a white umbrella, which in this country gives a particular title of honour. Tondiman wished much for one, but it would have been so cruel a mortification to the Rajah had he received it from the Madras government, that they only sent him two silver sticks. His horses were fine, and his servants very neat. He had several red flags with him, and his courtiers had perpendicular shades that kept off the sun: others had coloured umbrellas. His band, also, and tom-toms, were with him. I received him on the steps, and led him to a couch, placing him on my right hand. He requested to see Mr. Salt's drawings, which were shown to him: he made several judicious remarks upon them, and expressed himself highly pleased. He sat near an hour with me, and, on his departure, received from me exactly the same presents that he had given me the day before. He was obliged to take off his turban to have the flowers and jewels put round his neck; his Mahratta turban being too large for them to go over. His courtiers had presents according to their rank. On departing, he earnestly requested to hear from me, and expressed many wishes for my safe arrival in England.

It is singular that a man educated among Christians, with an excellent understanding, should be a slave to the Hindoo superstition; yet the Brahmins have not apparently a more strict follower than the Rajah, though in every thing else a man of liberal sentiments, and even more than indulgent to the Danish Missionaries that live in his country, extending his protection to the Catholics, who have, nominally, added to their flock a considerable number of the lowest order of Hindoos. After the observations that I have been obliged

in a former part of my work, to make on the Missionaries, it would be uncandid in me not to report the very favourable character which was given of the gentlemen of the Danish Mission, and of their flock, by Captain Blackburn. He assured me that their conduct does honour to the Christian name; and that they live in perfect peace with the heathens around them. So little however has been their success in conversion, though labouring with every advantage, that the hope of succeeding among other Missionaries must be very small indeed. Here their schools are allowed by the Rajah; and the one that was under the immediate protection of his old tutor Mr. Schwartz, where he educated and maintained fifty poor children, has been continued at his Highness's own expense. Is it possible that more than this can be done to give Christianity a fair chance in India? Yet, how few have been the number of the converted!

Feburary 1.—Tondiman sent a Vakeel to me to express his regret at not having seen me at his capital, and to lay at my feet fruit, in token that the country was mine. He requested to know how long I should stay at Tanjore; for, if there were time, he would come over to pay his compliments in person. In return I made every profession of regard, and assured him I was sorry that I had not time to receive the visit of so tried a friend of my country.

Tondiman is an hereditary title, not the name of an individual. His subjects are Polygars; and since the late war, which ended in the destruction of the Murdoos of Shevagunga, he is become the chief of those tribes, among whom the singular law exists of the female inheriting the sovereignty in preference to the male. The young Rannie may marry whomsoever she pleases, and during her life her husband is Rajah; but on her death her daughter

immediately succeeds. When we first became acquainted with the Polygars in 1755, they were considered as a wild uncivilized race, in whom no confidence could be placed, and whom it was impossible to restrain from plundering their friends, as well as their enemies. If they ever deserved the reproaches which were cast upon them, their character is completely changed at present; they are a brave and active race, but are as peaceable neighbours as any others, when treated with liberality and justice, which I am sorry to say has not always been the case.

The proceedings which led to the late Polygar war are a melancholly proof of this. The Panjalamcourchy Rajahs were young men, ruling over a tribe of Polygars of no great consequence, and bound to pay a tribute to the British Government. From some circumstances a coolness originated between them and the Collector, in consequence of which they refused to attend in person to pay their tribute, and the Collector refused to receive it in any other way. A negotiation took place, and at length it was agreed that the eldest should receive a safe conduct from the Collector, and should meet him in the fort of Ramnad. He arrived, paid his tribute, and was going to retire, when, contrary to all faith, an attempt was made to arrest him. Irritated by this treachery, one of his attendants instantly stabbed the officer to the heart, and then escaped with his master. A very respectable deputation was sent down from Madras to examine into the circumstances, which reported that the murder did not appear to have been premeditated, but was solely owing to a sudden ebullition of rage on discovering the intended treachery. The Government wisely published a declaration of amnesty to all concerned; but the Panjalamcourchy chiefs

continued to entertain such a jealousy of the British, that they would not come in with their tribute, and hostilities were the consequence.

The brothers were too weak to resist. They fled from their fort, and tried to conceal themselves in a jungle, where they were discovered and taken. The eldest was executed; the youngest, being deaf and dumb, had his life spared, but was confined in a British fort, from which he escaped, and fled to his own, which he repaired, and defended against Major Macauley with eight hundred men, repulsing him in an attempt to storm. At length Major Agnew came up with reinforcements, when another attack was made, which succeeded. The place was destroyed, and the young Rajah was left amongst the dead, covered with wounds. In the night he was conveyed away by his friends, and carefully concealed, till, in the beginning of the year 1801, he was able to fly to the Murdoos, acting chiefs of Shevagunga.

This country was originally ruled by a female, till about twenty-five years ago, when the two brothers of the name of Murdoo, who were of a low cast, and had even been menial servants in the palace, usurped the government, under the title of Dewans to the sovereign her husband. On his death they obliged the Rannie to marry a man of their own cast, in order to secure their power. She did not live long; and they seem then to have thought all concealment unnecessary, for they took the title of Pandeen Rajahs, or ancient kings of the country, of whom at present there is not any trace, except by tradition. The Nawaub of Arcot, on hearing of this, dispossessed them of their territories, by the assistance of the Company's troops under General Stewart; but for a bribe, reinstated them, and they

continued to pay their tribute quietly, till the British Government instituted some inquiries into the right by which they held the country. It was at the moment of their alarm on this account that the Panjalamcourchy Rajah arrived, of whose abilities they had a very high opinion. The Chiefs of Shevagunga could bring into the field an army of twenty thousand men, armed with muskets, match-locks, or spears; they therefore determined on war, and applied to Tondiman to join them, threatening that, in case of refusal, they would immediately enter his country, and totally destroy it; a threat which they might have carried into execution, as the British were by no means in a state to afford him protection. He however steadily refused.

Colonel Agnew hearing of their proceedings, attempted to enter their country, but failed, and was obliged to retire to Ramnad. The Murdoos now pressed Tondiman to remain at least neuter, while Captain Blackburn, the Resident at Tanjore, called upon him to bring his forces to the assistance of the British. Tondiman was then preparing to marry the daughter of his predecessor, which would have secured to him the country; yet he, without hesitation, put off his nuptials, and so exerted himself that in four days he joined Colonel Innes at Nattam with three thousand men, and at the same time gave up Teroomiam, his only strong fort, as a military depot. He also rendered a very important service, by securing in one night the families of a great number of the followers of the Murdoos, who had concealed themselves in his jungle; in consequence of which every male belonging to those families immediately deserted their cause, and became quiet subjects.

The united Rajahs defended themselves with great valour, and

when shut up in their fort of Caliarcoil, resisted, for five months, the whole force that could be brought against them. The superiority of discipline and numbers at length gave victory to the British: Caliarcoil was taken by storm; and though the Murdoos escaped into the jungle, which for seven miles surrounds it, yet they were soon hunted out and hanged; the one at the age of fifty-five, the other at sixty. The Panjalamcourchy Rajah fled to Pylney, where he also was at length taken and executed; an act which I cannot but deeply regret, as I think the provocations his family experienced from the Resident were such as to palliate his rebellion. It might be advisable to prevent his return to his own country, but I think the Madras Government would have consulted their own honour in sparing his life. In the Shevagunga family there existed no female heir; the country was therefore given to a relation who had been betrothed to the late Rannie, but was prevented from marrying her by the Murdoos. No advantage was taken of the conquest to raise the tribute, which still continued at 50,000 pagodas per annum.

The conduct of Tondiman had been so friendly, that the Madras government determined to requite him; they therefore restored to him the district of Killinelli, valued at six thousand pagodas per annum, liable to the tribute of an elephant annually. This had belonged to Tanjore, but in Tippoo's war was in his possession. As it was considered an important place to recover, the English offered to give it to Tondiman if he would conquer the forts. He did so; but, on the peace, the Tanjore influence prevailed at Madras, and he had been obliged to surrender them. They also presented him with two gold sticks to be carried before him, a mark of high distinction in this country, and conveying a title. A perseverance in the system

of conciliation, which has been so wisely adopted by Captain Blackburn, will, I have no doubt, attach the Polygars to the British, as they are fully sensible of our power; at present he assures me, he is convinced, that were their services required, he could bring ten thousand of them into the field. They have shown themselves on all occasions uncommonly brave and active, and would be no despicable allies in the bush-fighting of this woody country.

February 2.—By three in the morning, Mr. Salt and I were on our way, and by half after seven we arrived at Mr. Harris's, at Comboconum, distant twenty-three miles, having passed through the town, and over the bed of the Cauveri, which is now perfectly dry. When full, it must afford a very beautiful view, the opposite side being covered with wood, out of which the lofty pagodas rear their venerable heads in greater numbers than I had hitherto seen. This was the ancient capital of Tanjore, which accounts for the many remains of its splendour. At present, it is chiefly inhabited by Brahmins. Their habitations were neat; new houses were building, and the old ones were not going to decay; I therefore set this down as a thriving district. A person who travels through a country with the rapidity that I do, has no other means of judging for himself. It strongly confirmed the report I had heard of Mr. Harris's able conduct. Some of the pagodas and tanks were very fine; but it is a singular circumstance, that almost invariably the outer gateway is of superior dimensions to the temple itself. The expense of building them must have been very great.

At nine we left Mr. Harris's, and by half after twelve, reached Cutallum, a small village distant fourteen miles, having as usual passed several pagodas. The country was extremely rich, and in a

high state of cultivation. At four, we arrived at Wydenathgoody, a very large and flourishing open town, with a large, and I should suppose rich, pagoda; for the suwarry with which the Brahmins met me was very handsome. The elephants were covered with flags, and the nautch-girls were gaily dressed. The noise of the tom-toms was however insufferable; I therefore hastened out of the town as fast as possible, after having received their nazur of limes, and a present of oranges and bananas. By the road we met a messenger from Mr. Campbell, inviting us to his bungelow near Chelumbrum. Soon afterwards, in passing a considerable village, a nazur of fruit was presented by the son of the Zemindar, his father being away.

We reached Mr. Campbell's by half after ten; the distance eighteen miles. Tea and various other refreshments were ready, and our host was afterwards so obliging as to conduct us to the celebrated pagodas of Chelumbrum, which were illuminated, the Brahmins having notice of my visit. The masses of deep gloom, partially relieved by the light of the torches, had a very solemn effect. The gateway by which we entered had lately been repaired by a devout widow, at the enormous expense of forty thousand pagodas. The side pieces of the gateway were each of one stone, forty feet high, and ornamented with carving. The whole of the architecture had a more ancient appearance than Tanjore or Ramiseram. Facing the entrance they were erecting a portico of one hundred fluted pillars, in some parts three, in others five deep: the roof was not yet laid on. We then proceeded, in a winding direction, to the entrance of the most holy temple. This building is more ancient, and the style much purer than the others around it; even the

carved figures shewed in the artist a more just attempt at proper action than is to be found in the rest. It was extremely well lighted up, so that, by ordering my torches away, I could see the inside better than by day. There was a profusion of gold and jewels about the Deity. The buildings were formed as usual, and we were only permitted to approach the door of the anti-room. In this was the brazen pillar, reaching above the roof: without was an immense lingam of black stone, elevated on a lofty square pedestal of many steps; over it was a canopy, supported by pillars, that rose from the ground without pedestals. A small temple facing us on our return was of the same architecture, and the carved figures had equal merit. I here observed, for the first time, a smaller circular pillar of black stone, protruded in front of the larger, in the same way as in some of the Gothic cathedrals in England, which had a very beautiful effect. In this temple are many inscriptions in an unknown character, which I should have been delighted to have had copied; but it was impossible, as I was obliged, to my great regret, to hurry away, lest I should be too late in the Red Sea for the southerly monsoon. This is a most holy pagoda; and although it has no revenue, except a share of the money allowed by Government, is supposed to be rich, from the numerous donations of piety and superstition. Tippoo during the war got possession of it, and much annoyed our troops. The walls are very lofty and thick; but though the gateways were forced, still they resisted, and by throwing down combustibles drove out the assailants. At twelve I took my leave of Mr. Campbell, and proceeded on my journey.

February 3.—Early in the morning I was met by a servant of Mr. Kinchant's, the Resident at Cuddalore, inviting me to his house.

I arrived there by nine, a distance of fifteen miles. The factory-house is a chaste piece of architecture, built by my relative, Diamond Pitt, when this was the chief station of the British on the Coromandel coast. It has a noble portico, and had a terrace roof that pleased Monsieur Lally so much, that he carried it away to Pondicherry. I received here a very polite invitation from the Honourable Colonel St. John of the 73d regiment, commanding at Pondicherry, to take up my abode at the Government-house. I arrived there at half after six, and met with a very cordial reception.

February 4.—The Colonel has a kind of levee for the French gentlemen. I was this morning much surprised by a Monsieur De Montroche's presenting me with a letter of introduction, from Paris, from my friend Doctor Macnab. I was happy to find that he was a great favourite of Colonel St. John's. He is of a noble family, and was sent out in the civil department.

February 5.—Colonel Keith gave us a dinner at his country-house on the banks of the river opposite the island, which the French meant to fortify. In the evening was a dance, at which most of the French were present. The manners of the men were very bad, but the females excelled as usual, in dancing. Several ladies had been divorced three or four times, so that their morals cannot be considered as very strict.

February 6.—Mr. Salt set off by an unfrequented road to the left among the hills, the scenery of which is said to be very fine. He went first to visit and draw the Seven Pagodas. I was myself detained by the scarcity of bearers, a circumstance which I had no reason to regret, as it is impossible to be in the society of more pleasing people than my host and his charming wife.

I forwarded by express to Madras, the letters of introduction with which I had been honoured by the Marquis Wellesley for Lord William Bentinck, and also letters to Mr. Petrie, a Member of Council, requesting him to lay the bearers for me for the last thirty miles.

Pondicherry, once the most splendid city in the East, and the capital of the French when they held the larger part of the Carnatic, has never recovered its destruction in 1761. The French administration, confiding in the great force sent out under Monsieur Lally, wantonly ordered that all the British forts, which might fall into his hands, should be dismantled; and this was executed at Fort St. David's. The fate of war made Pondicherry liable to retaliation; the fortifications were completely destroyed, and the ditch was filled up by the removal of the glacis into it. This, however, did not satisfy the Council of Madras; a remembrance of the great power of the French seems to have haunted them; and to make a return of it still more difficult, they determined to extend their devastations to the buildings, public as well as private. The Jesuits' College, and some of the public buildings, still remain memorials of their resentment. The private houses have been completely repaired, and Pondicherry is still the handsomest town, except Calcutta, that I have seen in India.

In the middle of the square are lying the pillars and other ornaments of a pagoda of a black stone, richly ornamented with carving. These had been removed from a sacred building by Monsieur Dupleix, when he assumed the rank of Soubah, and lived in all the pomp of an eastern prince, and were probably intended for a durbar. They now remain strewed on the ground, no unfit emblem

of the fallen power of the French in this country. Bonaparte seems to have formed expectations of raising it to its ancient height, otherwise he would not have sent out to a little territory of five miles of sea-coast, containing only twenty-five thousand inhabitants, and yielding a revenue of only forty thousand pagodas, so splendid an establishment as arrived under Captain-General De Caen, which consisted of seven generals, a proportionable number of inferior officers, and fourteen hundred regular troops, including a body-guard of eighty horse. Sparing as Bonaparte is of his money, he nevertheless sent with them one hundred thousand pounds in specie, and had directed the Government-house to be repaired, and furnished with articles sent from France, at an expense of eighteen thousand pounds.

Nothing can be more evident, than that such a number of generals and officers must have been intended for a wider field than the little territory of Pondicherry. When they were sent from France, the power of Perron was at its height in the upper provinces, and the original founder of that power was with Bonaparte, to point out the most eligible method of undermining the British influence in India. Here, therefore, was probably their destination; and had they been able to join their countrymen, and mature their projects of increasing still more the number of sepoys, disciplined after the European manner, the result of a future war might have been the accomplishment of their wishes. Fortunately for us, the capacious mind of Lord Wellesley saw the danger, and his promptitude has removed it, I hope, for ever. In the peninsula little was to be feared from French influence. From the time of their first establishment, they had violated the prejudices of the natives, and were conse-

quently held in detestation by them. Dupleix had destroyed their temples; Lally had forced them to work in the trenches, and do other military duty contrary to their cast; and the Government itself had uniformly prohibited the residence of a single family, which was not Christian, within its boundaries. To this intolerant spirit, I cannot but in a great degree attribute the decline of the French power, and to a contrary conduct, the elevation of the British on its ruins. The memory of what the French were, still exists in the minds of the natives, and renders the success of their intrigues much more difficult. Whatever were the plans or hopes of Bonaparte, the war put an end to them. Admiral Linois had earlier intelligence of that event than Admiral Rainier, and thinking no time was to be lost, slipped his cables in the night and fled to the Isle of France, leaving behind forty officers, and the whole of the civil servants who had landed on his arrival. He took with him all the generals, in consequence of which the command devolved on Binot, who had the rank of Brigadier-general, with whom the arrangements for the surrender of the place were continued till the Madras Government received the intelligence of hostilities having commenced, when Colonel Moneypenny, with the 73d regiment, was ordered to march to Pondicherry, and act in conjunction with Colonel Cullen, who was already there as British Commissioner. He arrived there in the night, when all the French were in their beds, and might have been taken prisoners without the least difficulty; but, strange as it may appear, General Binot was permitted to assemble all his countrymen in the barrack, as he said, to consult with them on the occasion. He had no sooner secured himself, than he positively refused to enter into any terms

till the 73d regiment had evacuated the town, which was complied with, when the capitulation, which is before the public, was signed, and they became prisoners of war.

It would be difficult to account for the proceedings of the British officers on this occasion. The town was completely in their possession when they humbly retired from it, and the French could not have resisted for ten minutes, when the farce of a capitulation was entered into; for the barracks, in which they were shut up, were only one story high, and the court in the centre was commanded by several lofty houses adjoining, from the roofs of which every man that appeared below might have been picked off by the soldiers stationed on them; and, if necessary, the cannon in the great square might have been directed against them, without any hazard of injuring the town, as the beach was adjoining. The whole number of the French, civil and military, was not above two hundred and fifty, whilst the British had five hundred Europeans, besides sepoys. Colonel Saint John, who arrived during the negotiation, objected in the strongest manner, but without effect.

General Binot's impudence did not desert him when he became a prisoner. He demanded table money and forage, as well as his usual pay; and when Colonel Saint John refused to comply, declared the articles of capitulation were broken, and objected to sign his parole. When at length he consented, and the paper was sent to him, he altered it in such a manner, as to permit him to seize the cartel in which he was to depart for the Isle of France. This was fortunately discovered, and he was obliged to sign a regular one. The civil servants who remained, are in general gentlemanly respectable men; they are chiefly Royalists, who had returned to

France in consequence of the peace, and whom Bonaparte did not wish to continue there. Nothing can be more liberal than the conduct of the Madras Government towards them, who, at an annual expense of 30,000 pagodas, has granted them allowances equal to their pay. Yet some have been base enough to carry on a treacherous correspondence with General de Caen at the Isle of France, whilst living on its bounty.

Colonel St. John discovered this; and having communicated to the Madras Government the name of the vessel which was to sail with the dispatches from the Danish settlement of Tranquebar, it contrived to intercept her, and get possession of all the letters. By these it appeared that they rested their chief hopes on Travancore, the only part of the sea coast which did not belong to us. Here they expected to be able to land a body of forces without opposition; and declared themselves confident that the Polygars would immediately join them. In both cases I think they would have been disappointed; for the Polygars are perfectly reconciled to our government; and though Travancore is independent, yet the Rajah is attached to us by the closest friendship. He is the only trader in his dominions, purchasing every article of produce from his subjects, and re-selling them to us at a considerable profit. An English Resident attends him constantly; and Lieutenant-Colonel Colin Macaulay, who at present acts in that capacity, has, by his prudent and conciliatory conduct, drawn the ties still closer between us. The chief spy was seized and sent to Madras, where he continues in confinement.

The long period that Pondicherry has continued in our hands, during which no trade has been carried on, has reduced the regular

inhabitants to the greatest distress, and nothing but the humanity of the British has prevented many of them from starving, by giving small allowances to the respectable families, without any party distinction. The houses have been mortgaged and re-mortgaged, but they continue in the hands of the original owners, as there is no court of justice by which they can be transferred to the mortgagee. No repairs are however done, and consequently a continuation for a few years, of the present war, will render the destruction of them complete. Pondicherry has no natural advantages as a commercial town, and has only been kept up by being the capital of the French in India. If restored to them at a peace, it might again rise into consequence, as it is evident they still intended to make it the seat of Government. I am informed they meant to leave it an open town, and to fortify Cocoa-nut Island, situated at a small distance in the river of Ariancopang, and from which, in the year 1760, the town was battered by the English. If this had been done, part of the old town must have been removed to form a proper esplanade.

The manners of a settlement, cut off from the parent country, can never be very polished; but poverty has been added at Pondicherry to prevent the proper education from being given to the rising generation. The young men are more ignorant than could be expected; and the accomplishments of the females are limited to dancing well, and playing a few tunes on the piano-forte. The mind is left nearly a blank: yet there is a vivacity of manner that is pleasing, and makes a person frequently overlook the insipidity of the pretty things that are uttered. One merit the French have here, as in Europe; the wonderful patience with which they bear adversity. No one in the ball-room would suppose that the larger

proportion of the gay laughing beings, that seemed all happiness, had frequently not a meal to return to. Colonel St. John and his wife do every thing in their power to make them forget they are prisoners, not only by frequent parties, but by a thousand little attentions, which come nearer to the heart. The French will have reason to mourn that the 73d is ordered home, though it gives me real satisfaction, as I shall probably soon have the pleasure of greeting my friends in England.

It was with feelings of the most unfeigned regret that, on my arrival in England, I learned the disappointment of these hopes. Colonel and Mrs. St. John, with their little ones, perished on their voyage, how is not known. I knew them but a short time, yet that was sufficient to convince me that a more amiable, or a happier couple could not exist. What a loss must they be to their friends, and, above all, to the two little orphans they have left behind!

February 7.—I set off at two in the morning, having Colonel St. John's boys for my own palanquin. I reached Allumparva by a quarter before eleven, distant twenty-seven miles. The country was more full of jungle, with less population, and fewer pagodas. The Carnatic will not for ages recover the destructive ravages of Tippoo and his allies the French. The sea was all the way about a mile on my right hand; the mountains were visible on the left. I passed a salt-water lake that bounds the jaghire to the south; it was very wide, but not more than two feet deep. At Allumparva, an old Portuguese lady keeps a kind of inn, and as Mr. Salt had given her notice of my intended arrival, she had prepared breakfast. We left her house at a quarter before twelve, and crossed the

river Pinear, now but twenty feet wide and two deep, though the bed of it was at least half a mile broad. The mountains were a very fine object on the left. We got down to the sea-shore about a mile from Sadras, and at a quarter past six reached Mrs. Isaac's inn at that place. She is a very civil and respectable old Dutch woman. A most excellent dinner was prepared, and she joined me afterwards in a bottle of her own Madeira, and of my claret. She spoke English, and was a very pleasant companion.

The town is now in decay: there was formerly a small fort, surrounded by a brick wall, about fifteen feet high, on one side close to the sea. This was seized by Lally at the siege of Madras, in violation of the Dutch neutrality, and formed into a depot of stores. It is now in ruins. A range of houses faced the three land sides of the fort at a small distance. They are rapidly decaying, and the inhabitants are retiring to more flourishing stations.

February 8.—I left Sadras at six, and soon quitted the direct road to visit the celebrated ruins at Mahabalipuram, which are generally called the Seven Pagodas, but for what reason it would be difficult to say, as no such number exists there. The excavations and carvings are well worthy the attention of travellers, but they have been so accurately described in the first and fifth volumes of the Asiatic Rescarches, that it is unnecessary for me to say any thing about them.* After indulging myself for three hours in examining them, I departed. Twenty-eight miles from Madras I was met by fresh boys sent on by Mr. Petrie. The whole day

* I found at Madras that Mr. Salt had taken several views of them; I have given an engraving from one of them.

was cloudy, and towards night it rained. After it was dark, my boys forded a lake that was a mile wide and up to their middles, in order to avoid going round about two miles. It was very unpleasant from wind and rain; and I was by no means free from fear of their falling; however, I got safe over, and by eight arrived at Mr. Petrie's house. He was not at home, but his servants informed me that Lord William Bentinck had provided a house for me, and had servants waiting there, to which they immediately conducted me.

February 9.—In the morning early I notified my arrival to Lord William Bentinck, the Governor of Madras, and requested permission to pay my personal respects to him. He appointed the Government-house in the fort, where I immediately went, and met with a very polite reception. His Lordship invited me to dine with him on the morrow.

February 10.—The Commander-in-Chief and his staff did me the honour of calling on me, as did Lord William Bentinck, and Messrs. Petrie and Chamiere, Members of Council. Mr. Salt arrived in the course of the morning, and was invited by Lord William to dine among the guests at his Lordship's. I was agreeably surprised to meet there my old friend Mr. Maitland, who had formerly resided some time with me at Strasburg. The table was well served, and the burgundy, hermitage, &c. were good of their kinds.

I was surprised that I had heard nothing from the Nawaub of the Carnatic, and asked his Lordship if he had notified my arrival to his Highness. He replied that he had. I mentioned the attention I had received at other courts, and observed to him, that not even

an enquiry, as is customary, had been made after my health. His reply amused me: "I believe he little knows what he ought to do, and waits for instructions from us. He considers himself partly as a stranger here."

After dinner I had a long conversation with General Wemys, and was very happy to remove many prejudices against Mr. North, which had been instilled into his mind during his short abode at this Presidency. Before we departed Lord William informed me, that it was settled with the Nawaub I should pay him a visit at twelve on the morrow; that he would accompany me; and that General Wemys would take the same opportunity of seeing his Highness.

February 11.—At eleven I went to the Government garden-house, and at twelve Lord William Bentinck, General Wemys, and I set off in his Lordship's coach, attended by the body-guard, who are a very fine corps of men, and well mounted. When we entered the gates of the gardens of Chepauk-palace, we found the Nawaub's troops drawn out, who presented arms, and a salute of nineteen guns was fired for the Governor. We passed several buildings that had nothing to recommend them to notice. At the steps of the durbar we were met by the Nawaub, who first embraced Lord William with several cordial hugs, and with very good pronunciation said, "How happy am I to see you, my dear Lord." I was then presented by his Lordship, and received a similar embrace, and nearly a similar compliment. It was next the General's turn, which being over, his Highness took hold of Lord William's arm and mine, and walked to a couch that was placed on the right of his musnud. His Lordship was seated by him on the couch; I was

placed on a chair to his left; General Wemys next to me; his eldest son sat next to Lord William; the English gentlemen were in a circle on chairs. Several natives very handsomely dressed stood behind his Highness; but some of his relatives had chairs. Captain Grant of the body-guard acted as interpreter, and for that purpose stood behind Lord William and the Nawaub. After a short conversation with his Lordship, he turned to me, and inquired, how the King did; in answer to which being informed how long I had left England, no more questions of that sort were asked; but inquiries were made how I did, where I had been, and where I was going; to all which I gave proper answers. After a short pause, he addressed the General, and learning that he had lately quitted England, he was favoured with the string of inquiries dictated by etiquette, which were originally intended for me, viz. How the King did; how the Prince of Wales did; how the Queen did; and how all the rest of the Royal family did. Each being distinctly answered, a kind of general conversation took place. I praised the elegance of the room, in which we were seated: he replied, that he was indebted to the English for that, and his other comforts, instead of being in prison. An eunuch brought in his second son, an infant in arms, whom he wished to show to us; but the little animal, not the least sensible of the honour, squalled so violently, that they were obliged to take him away. He said that it was usual to present dresses on these occasions, and that he hoped we would do him the honour of accepting them, to which we bowed assent. They were not presented in trays at the durbar, but sent to our habitations. On finding it was probable I should soon reach England, he requested me to deliver a numerous string of compliments

to the royal personages above mentioned, and particularly to express to his Majesty his extreme anxiety at not having been honoured with a letter from him, as his predecessor had been. Lord William Bentinck observed, laughing, that it would probably be here, long before my arrival in England. Wreaths of flowers were now distributed, with pawn and attar, after which we were deluged with rose-water. We then took our leave, and were conducted by the Nawaub to the steps, where he repeated all his compliments over again, and also said, that he was extremely proud to have entertained two lords at once.

The room he uses as a durbar is extremely handsome, of large dimensions, and divided by pillars. It was never finished, and was not even chunamed, but only white-washed. His musnud and furniture were handsome, and the Prince of Wales's picture, by Hopner, adorned one side of the room. The building was planned by a British officer, and was intended to be two stories high. As his Highness is freed from the cares of government by the kindness of the India Company, and as he is becoming very rich, he may probably finish it; in which case, it will be the handsomest durbar I have seen in India. His Highness is very fat and dark, with a stupid countenance, and has not the least appearance of a prince in his manners. His son has an expression of haughtiness and fierceness in his countenance, that gives no favourable augury of his future character. The dresses of both were plain: the father had only his belt ornamented with flat diamonds, to which no sword was suspended, and his dagger elegantly set with small rubies and brilliants. On reaching home, I found that the presents from the Nawaub had arrived, consisting of a handsome gold

dress, shawls, and a piece of kincaub. His Highness also sent me a profusion of fruit in trays, and a large dinner, which was distributed as usual among my native servants. I dined at Mr. Petrie's to meet the Governor, the Commander-in-Chief, and Mr. Chamiere, &c. &c.

February 12.—My European servant was seized on this day with a violent fever, and was obliged to take to his bed. Doctor Goldie had the goodness to attend him, but gave me no hopes of his being able to move for some time. This delay was extremely unfortunate: the season was rapidly passing away when it is easy to go up the Red Sea, yet I could not possibly think of leaving him behind me, after he had so faithfully followed me through all my travels; besides, I knew I should stand much in need of his services both there and in crossing the Desert. I therefore resolved to wait patiently till he should recover; but to let Mr. Salt set off immediately, with one set of bearers, to stage it through the hilly country, and visit the celebrated falls of the Cauveri. Requiring only two sets of bearers, I knew I might go by tappaul the whole way to Seringapatam, which, if he accompanied me, would be impossible. I dined with my friend Mr. Maitland, and had the happiness to find him comfortably settled with a pretty wife; himself a magistrate, and second in one of the most respectable houses in Madras.

February 13.—Lord William Bentinck had done me the honour to invite the Commander-in-Chief, the Members of Council, the Judges, and other gentlemen of the settlement this day, expressly to meet me. The party was very numerous, and the dinner splendid. We dined in the banqueting room built by Lord Clive, and looked

like pigmies in it, as our heads did not reach to the top of the pediment.

I learned that Lord William Bentinck had written to Purneah, the Regent of Mysore, to prepare every thing for my reception in that country. He had the goodness to promise also, that to-morrow he would direct other letters to be sent, requesting that peons might meet Mr. Salt at Ossour, to conduct him safely to Seringapatam, where he was again to join me.

February 14.—I dined with Mr. Chamiere, the second Member in Council, and afterwards went with him to a ball at the Pantheon. This was originally a private house, and, as such, must have been very uncomfortable. On the ruin of the person who built it, it was purchased by a party of gentlemen, as a place of public amusement, for which it is very well adapted, having one very large room, most beautifully chunamed. They have added a theatre to it, where, occasionally, plays are performed. It is a pretty building, and the scenes are well painted: the back of the stage opens, and is connected by an anti-room to the ball-room. This ball was given by a race committee; for races are here permitted. The room was very full, but I did not perceive that the Madras ladies excelled in beauty those of Calcutta. The novelty of the evening was the Pan pipes that used to parade the west end of the town, before I left England. The original one-armed Italian was the chief. The ladies however of Madras thought them extremely vulgar!

February 15.—I had hired for Mr. Salt sixteen palanquin boys for one month; their pay for that time only amounted to thirty-eight pagodas. They were to take him above twenty miles a day, and give him leisure to draw any thing that might be interesting.

That he might reach the pagodas at Conjeveram early in the morning, these were to be sent on, and he was to have others the first stage. He took with him wine and biscuit; rice, fruit, and fowls, he could procure at every village. I sent one of my peons to attend him to Seringapatam, who could speak a little English.

February 22. — From the sixteenth to this day inclusive, I dined at Lord William Bentinck's, as I found that his Lordship expected me, whenever I had no other engagement. Colonel Dowdeswell, who acts as private Secretary to the Governor, contributed much to my passing my time pleasantly, and the party at the Government garden-house was varied by the arrival of the Honourable John Rodney, ci-devant Captain in the navy, in his way to Ceylon, where he was to supersede Mr. Saumarez. He had with him Lady Louisa, and ten children. The society of Ceylon will be much improved by their arrival.

My servant, under the kind care of Dr. Goldie having slowly recovered, I determined to set off on the twenty-third. My ignorance of the Indian system of housekeeping made me liable to many impositions in settling my accounts for the time I had been at Madras; and by living in my own house I found, for the first time, what was the rent of a handsome one in India. Mine was unfurnished, Lord William Bentinck having obligingly sent in the furniture, yet they charged ninety pagodas for one month. At night Lord William informed me that the Nawaub had expressed his wish to pay me a visit at the Government-house before my departure. As I had made all the arrangements for my journey, nothing could have been more inconvenient, and

I sincerely wished he had declined paying me the compiment, after having so long neglected it. I was however obliged to submit.

February 23.—At twelve I went to Lord William Bentinck's to receive the Nawaub's visit. He arrived soon afterwards in an English coach with four horses, and attended by his body-guard. He had no suwarry, and indecorously made it a private visit: however, I am much more inclined to attribute this to ignorance, than to any intention of behaving uncivilly. The secretary and aid-de-camps met him at the steps of the portico, and conducted him up stairs; at the top he was received by Lord William and myself, who both embraced him, and led him to a seat. The conversation was tedious and uninteresting. After repeating all his messages to the Royal family, and wishing me a pleasant voyage, he at length departed; having staid till I was nearly out of patience. I understand that he is extremely fond of paying visits to the Governor, and of mixing as much as possible with Europeans. Whether the assumption of the country were or were not justifiable, it seems, at least, perfectly clear that it has not in the slightest degree mortified his Highness, who seems quite satisfied with reigning in his palace at Chepauk, and receiving a revenue much larger than ever actually entered the coffers of his predecessors. A suspicion has fallen upon him that he was accessary to the death of his cousin, the deposed Nawaub, who died within the walls of Chepauk: but when it is considered that this event took place in the apartments of his own mother, which in the East are a certain protection, and to which he had removed, of his own accord, from the residence allotted to him without the palace, candour will acquit him of the charge. Being perfectly con-

vinced in my own mind, that there is not in India a Mussulmaun Prince who would not rejoice to throw off our yoke, and expel us altogether, I confess I sincerely rejoice that the power of injuring us has been taken away from one of them, at a moment when it was evident that our implacable enemy was looking with an anxious eye towards India, and exerting his abilities and power for our destruction in that quarter.

The society of Madras is, of course, more limited than that of Calcutta, but it is quite as respectable. The style of living is much the same, except that the table here does not groan under an equal weight of viands. The fish is better, and the wine far superior.

In appearance, Madras differs widely from Calcutta, having no European town, except a few houses, which are chiefly used as warehouses in the fort. The gentlemen of the settlement live entirely in their garden-houses, as they very properly call them; for these are all surrounded by gardens, so closely planted, that the neighbouring house is rarely visible. Choultry-plain, once the scene of Tippoo's devastation, when, at the head of a body of horse, he descended the Gauts, and carried dismay to the walls of Fort Saint George, is now covered by these peaceful habitations, which have changed a barren sand into a beautiful scene of vegetation. I suspect, however, that the confinement of the air has in some degree tended to diminish the healthiness of the settlement. It has certainly increased the labour of paying visits, for, owing to the large extent of ground that is occupied by each house, the distance to be passed is frequently full three miles.

The Government-house is also in the plain, being situated on

the edge of the esplanade, and has the advantage of not being quite shut up, having a very pleasing view of the sea, and of Fort Saint George. Chepauk-gardens, belonging to the Nawaub, unfortunately come rather too far forward, and intercept the sea-breeze. The house itself is large and handsome; the floors, the walls and pillars are of the most beautiful chunam, of different colours, almost equal in splendour to marble itself. Lord Clive built a very large room of handsome appearance at a small distance in front, which has a bad effect from the house, and, when used on public occasions, is inconvenient, as being separated from it. The roads are a great ornament to the place, being broad, and shaded on each side by a noble avenue of trees. The fort itself is handsome, strong, and not too large; it is of more use than Fort William, which, from the difficulty of the navigation of the Hoogly, can never be attacked from the sea, whilst Madras would, without it, be liable to the insults of any small squadron that might escape the vigilance of our cruizers.

It would probably have been difficult to find a worse place for a capital, than that chosen for Madras, on the extreme point of a coast, where the current is most rapid, and where a tremendous surf breaks, even in the finest weather. Yet, however inconvenient it may be, particularly now that the whole peninsula belongs to us, the expense of removal would be so great, that no alteration will probably take place. It has been asserted, that a pier might be carried out sufficiently strong to resist the force of the north-east monsoon; and a person was sent by the India Company to examine into the state of the beach, and make a report. He considered it as practicable; but that the expense would probably be very great.

The Directors offered to take only a few shares, and it was not the interest of private individuals to hazard large sums on an uncertain speculation. Nothing therefore has been done, and the capital of the Carnatic still remains without a secure anchorage for her trading vessels.

CHAPTER VIII.

Departure from Madras.—Conjeveram.—Vellore—ancient Building there.—Tippoo's Family.—Massacre in 1806.—Santghur.—The Gauts.—Reception on the Frontiers of Mysore.—Colar.—Bangalore.—Seringapatam,—description of that Place.—Tippoo's Palaces.—Hyder's and Tippoo's Characters.—Visit from Nursing Row, Bucherow, and two of Tippoo's Nephews.—Tippoo's Country-houses.—Visit to the Rajah of Mysore at Mysore.—Administration of Purnea.—Fortifications of Seringapatam.—Manufacture of Gun-Carriages.—Mr. Salt's Journal.—New Bridge over the Cauveri.—Departure from Seringapatam.—Descent of the Gauts.—Mangalore.—Present State of Canara.

CHAPTER VIII.

CONJEVERAM.

February 23.—I had found it impossible to leave Madras till the evening, in consequence of an engagement to dine with General Stuart; but by ten I quitted my house, and settled myself for the night in my palanquin. The first set of bearers was excellent, and carried me twenty-six miles in five hours, during which time I had not been once interrupted by the usual demand of my passport; the second set was indifferent, so that I did not reach Conjeveram till nine on the 24th.

February 24.—The country after I awoke was flat and sandy, with frequent jungle, till I approached the town, where the paddy fields were cultivating. I was met at the entrance into the town by the peons of the Collector, and conducted to a house of his where he occasionally resides, and where he had sent servants to wait my arrival, and procure for me every thing I might want. Here I staid some hours, during which time I received a visit from the Aumil. In defiance of a very pleasant breeze, the thermometer stood in the room at 89°.

The pagodas here are large, and of the same shape as at Tanjore; the tanks are lined with stone, and in good repair; the streets are wide, and cross each other at right angles, with a range of cocoa-nut trees on each side, and the whole town has the appearance of prosperity. I was much struck with the chariots employed in carrying

the chief deity of the place, on his annual visitation, to another pagoda: they were much larger than any I had seen, and though disproportioned, must be handsome when decorated with coloured ornaments, as drawn by Mr. Salt. At one I again set off. In passing the great pagoda, dedicated to Iswara, the priests, and numerous dancing-girls, were drawn out to pay their compliments. The latter were very numerous, and some of them pretty. The heat of the sun was extremely oppressive, the thermometer being at 96°; we were therefore able to go but slowly. Villages are thinly scattered, the jungle is more frequent, and the soil a dry gravelly sand, which being raised by the wind, nearly suffocated me. The choultries erected by pious natives to give shade, and often subsistence, to travellers, are frequent, but falling into decay. Their greatest enemy is the Banian tree:* the seed is carried by birds to the top, and in the rainy season it finds nourishment between the large stones, where it gradually takes root, separating them, as it increases in thickness, till at length the building becomes a heap of ruins.

Around most of the villages are the remains of a hedge, with a rampart, and stone bastions at the gateway and angles. These were erected to protect the inhabitants from the incursions of Tippoo's predatory horse, who devastated the Carnatic, and carried off the inhabitants. He even injured the noble tank at Cauverypauk, which is said to be the largest in the Carnatic. It is however now repaired, and again fertilizes a large tract of country. As I passed it I observed the ruins of a fort; but nothing appeared in the town to tempt me to visit it. At half after six I reached Wallajapettah, where I changed bearers. The night was cool and refreshing. About

* Ficus bengalensis.

twelve I awoke, and found myself coasting along the chain of hills that command Vellore; the road winded among vast masses of rock, and groves of the wild date,* and the palmira,† with here and there a small pasture.

The moon shone bright, and rendered the scene most beautiful, from the strong effect of the light and shade on the mountains. At two I reached the outer works of the pettah of Vellore, which here descend from the lofty ridge, and wind along the valley. Within all was barren and rocky. I passed the town, and reached the gate of the fort; but the sentinel refused to admit me. I was obliged to write a note with a pencil, by the light of the moon, to Colonel Campbell the Commandant, which with some difficulty I persuaded an European serjeant to carry in. After the delay of an hour I was admitted. The guards were turned out, and Colonel Campbell received me at the steps of his house, and apologised for the delay I had suffered.

February 25.—After breakfast I took a walk with Major Marriot, who has had the care of Tippoo's family since their arrival here, to see a palace or pagoda, now converted into a magazine. It forms one side of the public square, in which are also the palaces of the Princes, the Commandant's house, and the houses of the chief inhabitants. In the front is a lofty gateway of the usual inelegant, but imposing architecture. On each side is a statue of a kind of blue stone, with four arms, which were found under ground in the interior of the building, and have been placed here by the British. After passing the gateway on the left, is a very noble apartment, supported by pillars, singularly but beautifully carved. Nothing

* Elate sylvestris. † Borassus flabelliformis.

but the patient labour of a Hindoo could have finished so minute a work. Each pillar is of a single stone; those in front are composed partly of figures on horseback, carved with considerable spirit; the others are on every side divided into square compartments, many containing the different adventures of Crishna with the Gopi's; and the very remarkable mythological tradition of his treading on the serpent's head: on others are the many fantastic figures to which the Hindoo religion has given birth. Major Marriot very kindly presented me with drawings of several of the pillars, which it was difficult at that time to examine, from the quantity of stones that were piled within. He also inquired for me from the descendants of the builders, what tradition they have concerning the founder; but all I could learn was, that it was built by a Naig of the place, about four hundred years ago. The musnud was placed in the back part of the building; it was about twelve feet square, and rested on the back of a prodigious tortoise.

Opposite to this apartment, which was probably the durbar of the Prince, is another, similar in size, but of a different architecture, and more plain. Facing the great gateway are several small pagodas of the Tanjore architecture, surrounded by a wall. These seem much more ancient than the others. As I returned, I observed several figures of Rama and his monkey generals on the inside of the gateway. A figure also was pointed out to me, which was said to be that of the founder. Nothing could be more natural than that he should wish to immortalize himself as the framer of so beautiful a building. The delicacy of the workmanship certainly surpasses any thing I have seen.

The fort of Vellore has been chosen for the prison of Tippoo's

family, from its being one of the strongest places in India. The walls are built of very large stones, and have bastions and round towers at short distances. A fausse-bray lines the wall between them, and with its embattled rampart, and small overhanging square towers, produces a very handsome effect. A deep and wide ditch, chiefly cut out of the solid rock, surrounds the whole fort, except at one entrance, where there was a causeway, according to the Indian system. They are now removing this, and constructing the more certain defence of a drawbridge in its stead. In addition to the usual defence, the ditch is filled with alligators of a very large size. With these, a serjeant of the Scotch brigade engaged in battle for a small wager. He entered the water, and was several times drawn under by the ferocious animals. He, however, escaped at last, with several severe wounds. A glacis has been formed where the ditch is narrow. The whole reminded me very much of the architecture of the antient English baronial castles.

The fort of Vellore is so completely commanded from the hills, that a six pounder can from any of them throw a shot over it. On the three loftiest summits are three forts: one only has water, and is too large; did it occupy only the summit, it might be easily rendered impregnable; and till it is taken, no attack can be made on the forts below. Hyder was aware of this, and when he besieged Vellore, he, by great exertions, got some pieces of cannon up to a fourth point, from which he made a breach in the small fort, and intended to have stormed it in the night; but was prevented by a drummer deserting, and giving him notice that just within the breach was a deep pit, into which his whole party would otherwise have fallen and perished. He was, however, obliged to com-

mence a new attack, and before he could succeed, Sir Eyre Coote relieved the place. The conquest of Mysore has rendered Vellore of little importance, so that, had it not been for the accommodation of Tippoo's family, it would most probably have been permitted to go to decay.

The hills render Vellore extremely sultry. The thermometer was 86° in the shade; yet on returning from my walk, I found the British officers playing at cricket in the great square. No wonder if the liver is so frequently affected! I should have been very happy to have seen Tippoo's sons, but my wish to arrive as soon as possible at Mangalore, made me hasten my departure. I sent my compliments, and expressed my regret that I could not have the pleasure of paying them a visit. From Major Marriot I received every information respecting them that I wished to obtain. They occupy the ancient palace, to which very large additions were made previously to their arrival. The public apartments are handsome, and common to all of them; but within, each has his own. They are treated with great attention, and have every indulgence that is consistent with the safe custody of their persons. At present they are totally deprived of the liberty of quitting the fort, and even at each door of the palace people are placed to watch them. These strict precautions have only been used since the attempt to liberate them.

There are, in all, twelve sons and eight daughters of Tippoo's. Futty Hyder, the eldest, but illegitimate son, has twelve or fourteen children. He, as well as his three next brothers, have 50,000 rupees each per annum; a much larger sum than he really received during his father's life time, though he was nominally in possession

of a larger jaghire. Yet probably he has lost more than any by the deposing of his family; for though Tippoo certainly did not intend him to succeed to the musnud, yet, as he was the only one known to the troops, and was by no means unpopular, it seems likely that he would have seized the succession.

Futty Hyder conducts himself with the utmost propriety, as indeed do all of them, except Sultan Moiz-ud-Deen, the eldest legitimate son, who gives Major Marriot a great deal of trouble by his misconduct. He spends all the money he can procure in buying dancing-girls, runs in debt, and even lately murdered a female who had been employed in the harem as a servant. All the sons, except the four eldest, have only 25,000 rupees per annum, which they receive on their being fourteen years old. The females are nearly eight hundred in number, including several of Hyder's. Those of rank have each a separate room, and a small allowance of pocket-money; but the whole harem is supplied with provisions, as in the time of Tippoo.

In order that they might be able to converse with Major Marriot, who had the whole arrangement of their affairs, without a breach of Mussulmaun propriety, they adopted him into the family, and, consequently, call him brother. He assures me that they are happy and satisfied. Indeed they have most certainly suffered no loss, as their lot is much better than it would have been under any successor of Tippoo's. They come from different parts of the world, and each furnishes her apartment according to the fashion of her own country. Major Marriot has therefore the singular knowledge of the manners of the harem of Persia, of Delhi, and of many other Mussulmaun kingdoms. The allowances made by Tippoo Sultaun to his

family, and that of Hyder, including the whole expenses of their maintenance, were little more than a lac of pagodas, yet the British have liberally appropriated two lacs for the use of the prisoners, which is found to be more than sufficient; though if all the sons should increase their families like Futty Hyder, it will be difficult to say, what will be requisite. I pity most the young females, many of whom were betrothed before the death of their father, but have not yet been permitted to go to their husbands. It may be dangerous to extend the alliance of a family, which has been always looked up to as the head of the Mussulmaun religion in the East.

In a small habitation near the palace resides a brother of Tippoo, who is deranged. Major Marriot had much trouble in removing him from Seringapatam. He intoxicated himself with bang, and sallied forth at the head of his women, declaring that he would not go. His poor women fell at the feet of the Major, conjuring him not to put their master to death. At length he was forced into a palanquin by two stout eunuchs, and care was taken that he should have no more bang.

I doubted whether it would not at first have been more adviseable to remove the whole of the Hyder family to Calcutta, where they were unknown, and where the citadel would easily have lodged them: for, independently of any danger of these young tigers becoming again mischievous, their being at Vellore had at least the inconvenience of keeping 3000 men idle, who might otherwise have been usefully employed. It is thought adviseable to have a part of the garrison Europeans, which renders the evil still greater.

The fatal events which have since occurred prove that the danger was greater than I then supposed; and the prudent consequence

has been the removal of the males of Tippoo's family to Calcutta. I trust that the dreadful massacre, which took place on the 10th of July 1806, has awakened the Governors of India to a due sense of the dangers that surround them, from the determined hostility of all the Mussulmaun princes of that country. There can be no doubt that Tippoo's sons, particularly Moiz-ud-Deen, were deeply implicated in the conspiracy; and it appears equally certain that the promptitude of Colonel Gillespie alone saved us from a religious war throughout the Carnatic.

It must not be forgotten, that a similar attempt was made in Bengal by Vizier Ali. Though the danger was at that time obviated, yet the seeds of hostility still remain, and can be removed only by the vigilance of Government, and a *scrupulous attention to the prejudices* of the Hindoos, who form a majority of the population of the country. The enmity and attempts of Tippoo's family must have proved completely unavailing, had we not absurdly furnished them with arguments to mislead the minds of the sepoys, by persisting in a measure, which had created such general discontent. Nothing indeed could be more unfounded than the insinuations, that there was any intention of obliging the sepoys to become Christians; it is even probable that the turban itself, which was proposed to be generally introduced among our native troops, was in reality not contrary to their religious customs; nevertheless, when it was discovered that the objects of Government had been misrepresented, and that this very turban had been stated, and generally believed, to be only a preparatory step to more serious innovations, it is almost incredible that the Governor of Madras should, for a moment, have delayed to recall the order. General

Craddock seems to have felt the danger; and had it not been for an unfortunate confidence in officers, whose long period of service, and greater experience, he naturally concluded must have given them a fuller knowledge of the native character, he would probably have prevented all discontent, by leaving the dress of the sepoys as he found it.

It would have appeared strange in any former time, that all these hazards should have been braved for a circumstance of no importance whatsoever; the alteration in the form of a turban, which was neither to protect the wearer from injury, nor even inconvenience, but was merely to make him look prettier on parade. Is it not mortifying to behold our gallant soldiers, much more frequently regarded as playthings, to gratify the vanity and caprice of their Colonels, than as men destined to defend them by their exertions?

I cannot quit this subject without observing, that if any alteration in the dress of the sepoy is necessary, I am convinced that it may be easily carried into effect by an application to the Brahmins, on whose recommendation it would be adopted by all the Hindoos, not only without a murmur, but even with satisfaction.

The thermometer in the evening was 89° in the shade. The season is so far advanced, that the night is the only time in which travelling is supportable; I therefore determined to take advantage of it to reach the Gauts, hoping that when on the table land, the heat would not be so great. The gentlemen of the fort continued their kind attentions to the last, and lent me fifteen palanquin boys, as being better than any I could hire. At nine I set off, and travelled most comfortably all night.

February 26.—At a quarter before six I awoke, and found myself at Sautghur, distant thirty miles from Vellore. The situation is picturesque, being surrounded with rocks, covered in part by brushwood. As the next stage up the Gaut was a laborious one, I had sent on bearers from Madras, at an expense of one hundred and twenty rupees for thirty miles, the most expensive stage that I had yet travelled in India. They were ready, but the cooleys could not be found to carry the baggage; I was therefore obliged to wait. I amused myself in the mean time by visiting the Nawaub of the Carnatic's garden, which is considered as the best in the country, and the possession of which he reserved in his last treaty with the Company. Like all other Eastern gardens, it has no beauty. The trees are planted regularly, and water is conducted in small channels to the root of each. I afterwards wandered about and collected several species of seed. The Agave americana grows here, and in most other places that I have passed. It is in such profusion, that it is hardly possible to suppose it could have been introduced from America. At a quarter after ten my cooleys arrived: they deserved more chastisement than I chose to order; the thermometer, which was but 79° in the morning, being now 89° in the shade. This exposed me not only to the heat, but also to considerable delay, as the boys would not be able to get on so fast with the great weight of my palanquin. After proceeding across a plain, where I was nearly suffocated by the dust, and ascending a slight hill, I came in sight of the Gaut itself, winding up the mountain. We rested a little time at a mosque near the dry bed of a river, and then began to ascend. The first part of the ascent was so steep, that I was astonished six men were able to carry me up in the

heat of the mid-day sun. This pass has been widened and levelled since Mysore was conquered by the British. Artillery can now ascend it with little difficulty, which was far from the case when Lord Cornwallis made his first and unsuccessful attack on Seringapatam. The tranquillity of Mysore, and the Carnatic, by the final abolition of the Mussulmaun dynasty of Hyder, has rendered the easy communication between the two countries an object of great importance, by the facility it gives to trade. In this light only the improvement of the road is beneficial, as we shall probably never again have to convey artillery up. The hills were covered with large stones, among which grow many small trees and shrubs, with here and there a tamarind and banian tree, of great age and size. The ascent soon became more gradual, with occasionally a small descent. At one o'clock I stopped for a short time in a choultry. After another ascent I reached, by half past two, a wretched village called Naikeneray, where my bearers wished to stop, but as Baitamungalum was the place to which they had been hired, and where the Rajah of Mysore had stationed the first set of his bearers, I was obliged to insist on their going on, though I really pitied them, after having exerted themselves for four hours in the heat of the day. At a quarter past three, however, I found them so tired, that it was impossible to advance, I therefore rested and dined.

The scenery had completely changed; instead of the plain, which I had passed over from Madras, the whole country was undulated, with a few lofty desolate peaks before me. It appeared to be extremely barren, and I was disappointed at not seeing the extensive forests which I had expected. The thermometer was 91°. Four of

my bearers were so exhausted that I was obliged to leave them behind; but with only eight I contrived to reach Vencatagherry, where I was met by a hircarrah of the Rajah's, whom I immediately sent back to bring the boys from Baitamungalum. About three in the morning they arrived, with a very respectable well dressed native officer, Mahommed Issack, Foojadar of Colar, who with the Aumildar of the district paid his compliments, and the latter presented a nazur of fruit and flowers. The flowers consisted of several strings of the blossom of the Nyctanthes sambac, the thread being drawn through the pip. He put several of these round my neck, others smaller round my arms, and also presented a nosegay of the same. The scent was too powerful to allow them to continue long in the palanquin. My ignorance of the language rendered much conversation impracticable; I however contrived to express my wish to proceed.

February 27.—The night was cool and pleasant; before sunrise the thermometer was only 69°. At day-light I found myself attended by Mahommed Issack and the Aumildar on horse-back, with a few sepoys, and a body of armed peons. As I approached each village, two most harsh trumpets were sounded by men who ran before me. The inhabitants immediately came out, and the chief man, without stopping the palanquin, presented his nazur of fruit, whilst the rest made their salaams, and generally ran after me for a little time to gratify their curiosity. At a short distance from Baitamungalum the Cutwal was waiting for me, and a guard of sepoys, who attended me into the town, which is surrounded by a mud wall. The houses are many of them new, and an appearance of prosperity speaks in favour of the present government. Every

village that I passed had something like a wall or a fort to defend it; a strong proof that, under the Mussulmaun dynasty, property was in a very unprotected state. The country was in general well cultivated.

The Aumildar supplied me plentifully with eggs and milk, for which he refused any payment, having orders from Purneah, the Dewan of Mysore, to provide me with every thing I wanted. It was the same also with respect to my bearers, the Foojadar not permiting me to pay them, or to give them any thing, saying that Purneah would never forgive him if he did; and he watched me so closely, that I seldom was able to do it without his knowledge.

At eight I set off with my usual escort. The country was flat, and the road indifferent. At short distances poles were stuck into the ground on each side; between them a string was stretched, on which were suspended small branches of the mango tree. This was probably intended as a compliment; but it also served to mark the road. The Mysore bearers were by no means equal to those I sent on from Madras; a great many were under the palanquin at once, and soon exhausted themselves.

By eleven o'clock I reached Oolcundapetta, where I found fresh bearers. Here I rested under a noble Banian tree, and much enjoyed the cool water from some excellent cocoa-nuts which had been presented. In this place is a singular mass of rocks heaped on one another in a most fantastic manner. On one of the largest was a pagoda and some habitations. Walls have been carried from one to the other so as to form a defence, and the whole is surrounded by a hedge and jungle. A few cocoa-nut trees were cultivated in the garden, but none are to be seen elsewhere. By twelve the

thermometer was at 90°, and we were obliged to stop. The chief officer of each village that I passed presented me with fruit and sugar. The crowds of followers that attended them were very great; and unless from having notice of my arrival, and seeing the preparations made for my reception, they had been induced by curiosity to assemble from the neighbouring villages, the population must be much greater than in any part of Coromandel.

At one I set off, and at two came in sight of Colar, distant about a coss. Here I was met by the usual officers, and a crowd greater than any I had yet seen. They attended me into the town, and deposited me in a garden belonging to the young Rajah. It was shady and pleasant. The Foojadar being now in his capital, sent me an excellent dinner of fowls, and a *pillau.* In the garden were cabbages, artichokes, cucumbers, and grapes, besides the usual fruits. Colar is now strong as a mud fort; it has two very lofty walls, and in the town a cavalier of stone that rises high above them. At the gates are additional works. The houses within are not numerous.

At five I departed, attended still by my friend the Foojadar, and the Aumil of the district. It was with difficulty that my usual guard of twenty sepoys made way for me through the crowds in the pettah, which joins the fort, and is neat and populous. At the end of it I passed the tomb of Hyder's father, and the mausoleum where Hyder himself lay, till his son removed him to the Lolbaug near Seringapatam. The domes are handsome, surrounded by trees, and backed by a lofty and craggy hill, which altogether form a beautiful view. This was the birth place of Hyder, whose rapid elevation and unquestionable talents have led to an enquiry into the origin and the former state of his family. It appears nearly certain that they

were originally from Arabia, and probably of high descent, for the first who reached India about the year 1660, was on his arrival appointed Moulah of the mosque at Viziapore, and on his removal to Culbarga, was allowed to unite himself by marriage with a celebrated faquir's family, which takes its name from that place. It was a junior branch of the family, which afterwards, on some discontent, removed from Culburga to Sera, and entered into the service of its Soubadar. On the conquest of the Mahrattas the Soubadar was removed to Colar, which purgunnah was given him as a maintenance. In his service Futty Naig, the father of Hyder, rose to considerable consequence, and was at length employed by the Rajah of Seringapatam, in whose service he died, and was succeeded in all his commands by his son Hyder Alli, with whose history the English reader is now well acquainted. The British Government have liberally continued the allowance he made to the college of Mussulmaun priests to pray for the repose of his father's soul. They were standing at the gate to pay their compliments.

The road had lately been repaired, and was still marked by the strings of mango branches. We winded among the hills, but ascended none. The country is wild, and apparently not fertile.

At seven I received the compliments of the Aumil of Nursapore, who met me with fresh bearers, and the usual presents. I here saw neither town nor village. When the night set in, the number of torches was sufficient to dispel darkness for a considerable distance. At one I was awakened by my boys to receive the profusion of fruit brought me by the Aumil of Ouscotta, which they well knew would be theirs. He was attended by a great number of nautch-girls, and a most noisy and discordant band of trumpets and other instru-

ments, which I had some difficulty in silencing. By some good fortune I passed Kistnarajahpore without being disturbed.

February 28.—At six the celebrated town of Bangalore was in view. The country was more naked than any I had yet seen. The pettah through which I passed is large and even yet very populous, though it suffered, of course, severely during the irruptions of Lord Cornwallis. The fort had been destroyed by Tippoo after the British retired, as he found they took it with facility, yet could keep it against any power of his. Purneah is putting it into repair, and even making it stronger than it ever was. The glacis is a fine one. I was met here by a brother-in-law of the Dewan's, who is Aumil of the district. He brought me a smaller present of fruit than any I had yet received, and treated me with much more neglect. Hearing from his servant that Major Lambton was encamped without the town, I preferred paying him a visit to going into it. I learnt from him that the Aumil was ignorant, avaricious, and totally unfit for his situation. A dispute having arisen between Major Lambton's followers and some of the towns-people, I amused myself with attending to the debate. The Aumil came in on the occasion, and without taking off his shoes; a mark of disrespect that he ought not to have shown to a person, who was considered as his sovereign's guest.

Major Lambton has been for some time employed in measuring six degrees to the north of the line within the tropic, to compare the degrees there with the degrees to the south, as measured by the Spanish and French in South America. He is extending his labours across the peninsula, which will add much to our geographical knowledge. He informs me that he found many places in the Carnatic

more inaccurately laid down than in the interior of Mysore. In placing Arcot, there was an error of nine miles. He also confirmed an observation that I had made, that within the territories of the Company, the natives are much more uncivil than in any other part of India. This is owing, I would hope, to the independence they feel from the equal protection of British law; if so, no one can regret the trifling inconveniences they may suffer in consequence. Mr. Heyne, the Surgeon at the station, waited on me. I found that he had expected me, and provided for my accommodations in the palace of Hyder within the town, where there are very handsome gardens in the Asiatic style. He presented me with the seeds of several plants, and drawings of them, possessing great merit, by a native. His knowledge of botany, and his indefatigable exertions, will render the collection he is forming of the plants of the table-land of Mysore, valuable and interesting. I was much gratified by a plate of strawberries from the Sultaun's garden. It is probable that every European vegetable, and most of the fruits, might be cultivated here in perfection. The climate is now extremely pleasant, and I understand, even in summer, not liable to the hot winds which burn up every thing in the Carnatic. It is also very healthy.

After an early dinner I departed by three o'clock. My old friend the Foojadar had left me; of the Aumil I saw nothing: and had only a hircarrah of Purneah's to attend me. I passed through a country little cultivated, with much jungle, to Kingeri, which has a small mud fort in good repair, and a pettah apparently well filled with inhabitants. I was again on my way by six. The country was more wild, and the road more uneven. Tigers are said

to be here in great abundance, but our numerous lights secured us from any attack. By twelve I reached Ramageri and received the usual presents almost without awaking.

February 29.—At six this morning I found myself attended by the Aumildar, who, on my opening my palanquin, presented me with the greatest quantity of fruit I had yet received: the jacks and water-melons were remarkably fine. Before I could dispose of it, the Cutwal of Muddoor, to which place I was approaching, made his salaams and presents, so that my palanquin was quite loaded; I therefore began to toss the fruit among the crowd that attended; for which breach of etiquette, and want of proper dignity, I was soon punished by the clouds of dust they raised in the scramble. By ten I reached Muddien; by twelve the thermometer was 91° in the palanquin. My guard soon tired, and was left behind; we kept on however till half after one, when, I reached a single house at Tooperkera.

The country from that place was extremely rocky, but in many parts cultivated. I saw several tanks, which I learnt were the works of former Rajahs, and not of the Mussulmaun dynasty. Tippoo destroyed many, but built none. After a small ascent, the plain of Mysore broke on my view, with Seringapatam in its centre. The view of the capital disappointed me much; the only conspicuous objects are the minarets of the mosque, which are neither lofty nor elegant, and a cavalier of several stories, on which the British colours were flying. At a village two miles from the town I was met by Major Symons, who delivered me a letter, informing me that Colonel De Meuron, who commanded in Seringapatam, had prepared the palace of Tippoo for my reception. Bucherow,

the deputy of Purneah in the Patana district, also met me with a very large escort, and accompanied me into the town. I was received by the different guards with presented arms; and on reaching the main guard, which is in the palace, found Colonel De Meuron, and all the officers of his regiment, waiting to receive me. After paying their compliments they attended me to the apartments of the late haughty tyrant of Mysore.

The Lolmahal, or private residence of Tippoo, consists but of one square, three sides of which are divided into two stories, with a verandah of unpainted wood in front: behind were many small rooms, used by him as warehouses, but now painted and fitted up for the Resident; the fourth side consisted of a single room the height of the whole building. It was the durbar of the tyrant, in which he sat and wrote, or received his ministers. It is a very handsome room, about seventy feet wide in front, and forty deep. The walls are painted red, with a gilt trellis-work running over it, formed by the tigers' scratch, the favourite ornament of Tippoo. Sentences from the Koran in letters of gold on a red ground, each about a foot high, run round the room as a cornice. Three rows of pillars sustain the roof, which is painted like the sides of the room. Each pillar is of a single piece of wood painted red, and highly varnished. The shape is fantastic, bulging much towards the bottom, but again narrowing till they join a base of black marble. Behind the durbar is a small room where the tyrant slept, when fear or anger would permit him. There are only two windows, both grated with iron, and the door is strongly secured. The only entrances into the Lolmahal are through the harem that adjoined, and through a narrow winding passage, where his fears had chained some tigers as an

additional defence. When in the vicinity of Seringapatam he never slept at any of his country palaces, but constantly returned to this more secure fortress. Tippoo seems to have been deservedly punished for his tyranny, by the fears that ever attend it. He knew that his oppression had alienated the affections of a large proportion of his subjects, whose innocent prejudices, his bigotry had driven him to violate in the most cruel manner, not only by destroying their temples, and depriving the Brahmins of their revenues, but by violating their daughters, and forcing them to conform to his religion. We need not therefore wonder if he felt that every precaution was necessary for his personal safety.

I cannot help expressing my astonishment that any one should have been found to approve the conduct, and praise the character of Tippoo; yet in the public meetings of the India Company it has been asserted that he was not a tyrant. If he was not, I confess myself incapable of conceiving any character to which that title can be affixed. The internal government of his country was most oppressive, having placed unlimited confidence in a set of Aumils, who had no other recommendation than that they were Mussulmauns, and who, being bound by no oaths, not only embezzled a large proportion of the revenue, but plundered the unfortunate Hindoos without control; and even carried their depravity so far as to make secret inquiries respecting the females in their districts, and if they heard of any remarkable for beauty, to have them forcibly removed to their zenanas. As there was no regular police throughout the country, some districts were generally in rebellion; and it was not an unfrequent circumstance for the Pattels, or head men of two or three neighbouring districts, to assemble together and oblige the

Aumil to grant them their lands at whatever price they pleased to fix: if he resisted, he was usually murdered. Sometimes Tippoo had leisure to punish them, and then he did so most severely; but at other times he had more important avocations, and their impunity encouraged a repetition of the offence. The natural consequence was, that the actual revenue of the country was rapidly diminishing, and even of that not more than two-thirds ever reached the royal treasury. If there could be any doubts of Tippoo's deserving the title I have given him, his conduct in Canara and Malabar would place it beyond doubt. The utter extermination of the Nairs of rank, who by conquest had become his subjects, seems to have been intended, and as far as lay in his power, was by him carried into effect; for in Malabar, at its cession to us, there were none remaining, and in Canara they were diminished one half.

To the assertion, that many had quitted our provinces to live under the milder government of Tippoo, it is impossible to give any other reply than a positive denial of its truth; and I am at a loss to conjecture on what authority it is stated. Hyder indeed carried off from the Carnatic above 60,000 families, of whom only a vestige remained when Lord Cornwallis entered Mysore; but these unfortunate beings, so far from being satisfied with their situation, had found the yoke of Tippoo so heavy, that they joyfully seized the first opportunity to return to their native plains. The code of laws which Tippoo promulgated, and which has been so much praised by an Honourable Gentleman at the India House, was never even attempted to be carried into effect, and was merely meant by the tyrant to hand him down to posterity as a Mussulmaun legislator.

Hyder was indeed a different character: he might be an usurper, but he certainly governed the provinces he had seized from his sovereign, or conquered from the neighbouring princes, to the benefit of the inhabitants, without permitting his prejudices, as a Mussulmaun, to influence his conduct to the detriment of the Hindoos, as the following anecdote will very remarkably show. A celebrated Mussulmaun saint, called Peer Zaddah, resided at Seringapatam, and was greatly reverenced. On the festival of Shri Runga, the Goddess of Abundance, when her statue was, as usual, carried in procession from the temple through the streets, it unfortunately passed the door of the Peer, whose pupils being irritated at the idolatry, sallied forth, beat the people, and drove them and the Goddess back to her sanctuary. The Brahmins complained to Hyder, who told them that they ought to defend themselves when attacked. The next day the procession again went forth, and was again attacked by the pupils of Peer Zaddah. The event was however very different; for the Hindoos, being by far the most numerous, beat their assailants, and continued their procession in triumph. The next day the Peer presented himself, with all his pupils, at the durbar of Hyder, and complained of the injuries they had received. Hyder heard them patiently, and then asked them what they wanted of him: they had attacked the party, and had been deservedly beaten; what else could they expect? and what had induced them to act so? The Peer replied, " that the procession was an insult " to the Mussulmaun religion, and ought not to be suffered under " a Mussulmaun government, whilst he, a Mussulmaun prince, was " at the head of it." Hyder instantly interrupted him, by asking, " Who told you that this was a Mussulmaun government, or that I

"was at the head of it? I am sure I never did." On this the Peer desired a private audience, which was granted; when, finding he could not change Hyder's determination, he declared his intention of quitting the place. Hyder told him, he might go wherever he pleased. Extremely indignant, he retired to Arcot, where many faquirs at that time resided; but not finding his new residence as pleasant as his old one, he shortly returned to Seringapatam, and wished again to live within the fort. Hyder however positively refused his permission, telling him, "that he had proved himself unworthy of doing so, but that he would give him a house any where else." The Peer retired in wrath to the Black Town, where he died, and was buried at Chinapatam.

By this uniform system of prudence and moderation, Hyder left his son a prosperous and improving kingdom, a strong, and, for an Asiatic, well disciplined army, and a numerous and contented population. It is said, that on his death-bed, he advised his successor to reconcile himself to the English, and cultivate their friendship. Had he done so, it is probable that he would have transmitted to his posterity the advantages he received. Instead of this, a want of judgment, and a strong spirit of superstition, drove him into hostilities, which ended in his destruction. Any person who has the good of mankind at heart cannot regret the event. The tyranny of a very small proportion of Mussulmauns over the native Hindoos has been put an end to; the province of Mysore, which under them was going rapidly to decay, is fast recovering, and already yields a greater real revenue than the former nominal amount: the tanks which Tippoo had destroyed, solely because they were built by Hindoo Rajahs, though of the utmost value to his subjects,

are now repairing; and towns, which he had depopulated by his armies, or by the no less sure, but slower, operation of a prohibition to trade with their neighbours, because he bore an antipathy to them, are recovering their trade and inhabitants, and rising to more than their former prosperity.

It was with heartfelt satisfaction that I saw such evident marks of the good government of Purneah, who, as Dewan, has the management of the country during the Rajah's minority; for it was the British influence which had elevated him to the situation, and it was the British arms which had banished the tyrant's family, and left him at liberty to act for the benefit of his country; for, although under Tippoo he had very great power, it was impossible to remove the bigotted prejudices of his master against his Hindoo subjects, or to control his chief favourite, Meer Saduc, who was a monster of tyranny and avarice.

I dined with Colonel De Meuron, who had invited all his officers to meet me. He resides in a part of the palace of Hyder. The state room was painted green, which seems to have been a favourite colour of that chief, with much gilding. It joins on one side to the harem, and opens into the public square.

March 12.—After breakfast I descended to Tippoo's durbar, attended by Major Symons, who kindly acted as interpreter, where I received the compliments of Narsingrow, eldest son to Purneah, and Bucherow, his deputy. They delivered the Rajah's congratulations on my arrival at Seringapatam, and an invitation to his residence at Mysore, which I accepted for the morrow. Narsingrow presented a nazur of fruit, shawls, &c. He assured me of his father's regret that his necessary absence with the army on the frontier prevented

him from paying me a visit, but that he hoped I had received every proper attention on my journey, according to his instructions. I in return told him that I had every reason to be gratified by the compliments I had received, but that I hoped he would permit me to pay the bearers who carried my palanquins. He said that he felt much hurt that I should think of such a trifle; that the Rajah had ordered those people only to attend, who were bound to do so; and that he hoped I would not mortify his father by mentioning it again.

I thought that it would be rendering a service to the people of Bangalore, if I reported the misconduct of Purneah's brother-in-law, the Aumil; I therefore hinted that I had experienced more neglect there than in any other place, contrasting his behaviour with that of the Foojadar of Colar. Narsingrow assured me it was only owing to ignorance, but that he should instantly communicate the circumstance to his father.

The usual Asiatic conversation now took place. Bucherow expressed the satisfaction of the Rajah on my honouring his country with a visit; the gratitude he felt to my countrymen, and particularly Lord Wellesley, for having removed him from a dungeon, where his life was in danger from violence, and even from poverty, to a throne, and the protection of the English; and represented in very pathetic terms, the distress to which the poor little boy, the last of his line, had been reduced, with his mother and relations. He and Narsingrow declared, that no other nation would have given up to the lawful sovereign, a country which they had conquered from a tyrant; and that all they could do would be to express their gratitude, by an inviolable attachment to their benefactors. I assured

them that the whole nation approved of the conduct of Lord Wellesley in reinstating the Rajah, and that they relied with implicit confidence on his friendship and on the attachment of Purneah to them. I presented to each a pair of shawls, which I put over their shoulders with my own hands.

On our being again seated Major Symons informed me, that two of Tippoo's nephews were without, and wished to be presented to me. They are sons of Abdul Keer Cawn, Nawaub of Savanore, by a sister of Tippoo's, who died lately. Hyder Hussein Cawn, the eldest, is about eighteen, uncommonly like his uncle, as I am told, and with very pleasing manners; the other is only fourteen, a very fine boy, but with no manners at all. I embraced them both on their entrance, but seated them on my left hand. I could not, for a moment, drive from my mind the strange vicissitude, which had now placed me in the very palace of the haughty Tippoo, to receive the compliments of his nephews, and the presents of his ministers. Any thing which might be painful in this was however done away, by the knowledge that they were all rejoiced and benefitted by the change. Tippoo's own family were by no means well provided for by him; these boys have now a more ample allowance from the British government than they would have had, had he lived, and their independence is as great: their father is at present deposed, but it seems by no means improbable that he may be reinstated: they are under no constraint, and live as they please. The eldest paid the usual Asiatic compliment of hoping for my friendship, and that I would extend my protection to his father: the youngest was silent. After a short time I ordered pawn and attar, which was a signal for their departure. I made no distinction in deliver-

ing these articles, between the son of the minister and the nephews of the deposed Sultaun, though the former is now the highest in rank; but the remembrance of what the family of the latter once were, induced me to pay them every attention. I gave to each of them a shawl of superior quality.

Accompanied by Major Symons I visited the Lolbaug, a country palace, situated at the other extremity of the island on which Seringapatam is built. It was begun by Hyder, and finished in 1780, when he was fighting in the Carnatic. He never returned to inhabit it. It is of two stories high, and by no means an inelegant building. The ground floor seems to have been occupied by the attendants, and is very public; above, are some excellent apartments, and balconies opening into courts, for the Sultaun to sit in, and give audience. It was prettily painted; but being too gloomy to be lighted up well for European entertainments, Colonel Close has whitewashed a considerable part of it. It is situated in a garden, which might have been handsome before the first siege of Seringapatam by Lord Cornwallis, when it was filled with avenues of cypress, but at present it is very ugly. Many fruit trees are cultivated in it, but they are regularly planted, and have each a small canal to conduct water to the roots. A Mussulmaun has no idea of the beauties of nature.

Adjoining to the Lolbaug is the mausoleum of Hyder, where rests all that was royal of this Mussulmaun dynasty, Hyder himself, his wife, and Tippoo; who lie under tombs of black marble, elevated about eighteen inches from the ground. They are covered with rich cloths, and have a canopy over them. The whole building, with its dome, its brilliantly polished black marble columns, and

its mosque annexed, has a handsome effect. In the verandah are buried several of the family; and again without that, but on an elevated platform which goes round the whole building, are the tombs of several faithful servants. The British Government have, with their usual liberality, continued the allowance for the Moulahs to read the Koran. The expense of this amounts to two thousand pagodas per annum. Three pagodas per day are also distributed in charity at the mausoleum.

We next visited a very pleasant country palace, built by Tippoo nearer the town. It is the residence of General Wellesley when here; and he has contrived to make it a very good house for an European, without destroying its Asiatic singularity and beauty. Here Tippoo frequently retired early in the morning, and continued the whole day; but invariably returned at night to Seringapatam. The upper floor consists of one centre room, with four others at the corners, and verandahs between them; all very curiously painted. A verandah below covers each side, the walls of which are painted in a very whimsical manner. On one side is the famous battle with Major Baillie, in which Tippoo gave hopes of future military talent, which were never realized. Major Baillie is in the centre of the hollow square, formed by his small body of men The tumbril is in the act of blowing up. Tippoo and Hyder are advancing against him. These figures are well done, and are said to be like. In the opposite verandah the paintings are still more curious: Hyder and Tippoo appear there in all their splendour as conquerors, and the different princes conquered are painted below. Amongst these are placed some that never submitted, particularly the Rajah of Tanjore.

I was mortified to see there a British officer, whom Tippoo said he always wished to have the command against him, as he was sure to take his detachment prisoners. He added, that if taken, he should be safe, in opposition probably to the fate of poor Baillie, of whose talents he had a very different opinion, and who therefore only found safety in the grave. This person is represented more than once. In one place he is drawing his sword on a woman, with a most threatening air and countenance. In another he is amusing himself with dancing-girls. In the same verandah are figures of natives of every cast and profession. These are very interesting, and I should have much liked to have had them copied, had there been time. General Wellesley has had them retouched, as they were going rapidly to decay.

March 2.—According to the arrangement made with Bucherow, I set off early in the morning for Mysore; it is about nine miles from Seringapatam in the same valley, but more elevated, and consequently more healthy. Tippoo, to destroy as much as possible every record of the Hindoo dynasty which he had deposed, removed the town to a small eminence, distant about a mile, and gave it a new name. After having nearly completed it, he discovered that there was no water, the place therefore could never have been inhabited. The English war put an end to the work, for the Rajah immediately began to carry back the materials to their old station; there probably to remain. The new town which has arisen near the seat of government, is of one street about a mile long. About a mile from it I was met by Narsingrow, Bucherow, and the officers of the Rajah's household, with his whole suwarry of elephants, kettle-drums, and trumpets, who conducted

me to a small house, built by the Rajah for the British Resident when he comes to Mysore. The crowd was very great, and I should have been suffocated with the dust, had not the road been watered.

The whole town had been newly white-washed, and, at each door, banana plants were stuck in the ground, which had a pleasing effect. The strings were extended, as before, across the road, but instead of branches of the mango-tree, they were ornamented with pieces of cloth. I here found the gentlemen of Seringapatam assembled to partake of a breakfast, prepared by the Rajah. Besides a profusion of fruit, and all kinds of pastry, and made dishes, we had several pieces of solanum, brought in pots, with the fruit dressed and hanging on the plant, which was in perfect health. The roots of other plants were boiled, whilst the green stem was untouched. It must have required some ingenuity to dress these dishes, but otherwise they had no merit. Some sweetmeats, which were said to be from his own table, were very good.

Soon after nine I set off for the fort, which is well built. No houses are permitted to be erected on the esplanade. On entering through a handsome gateway, which was an ancient choultry, I found the garrison drawn out to receive me. The drums and fifes played, and the officers dropt their swords as I passed, but the men remained motionless without presenting arms. They were a finer body of men than any I have seen, well dressed, and, I understand, well disciplined. The Rajah admits none of a low cast into his service. There is a great deal of empty space within the walls. The palace is small and neat, but not finished; before it I found his honorary guard, drawn out to receive me. The musnud was placed

in a verandah on the left of the entrance. It was of ivory, fantastically carved, and had belonged to the former Rajahs. It was found amongst the stores of Tippoo, and was used for the inauguration of the young Rajah in 1799. It had probably owed its preservation to the little value of the materials. The superstition of the Hindoos seems to have attached a considerable value to it, for Bucherow pointed out to me the great good fortune of its not having been destroyed by the tyrant.

His Highness was dressed in gold tissue, with some handsome pearls round his neck; a cress of gold was lying on one side of him, on the other a small sword. On entering I made my salaams, which he returned, and held out his hand, which I did not perceive. Chairs were placed on his left hand for me and my party. Opposite to him were the other English gentlemen. On his right were Narsingrow and Bucherow, and behind them a great many domestics. His relations, and several young boys who are brought up with him, were seated behind me. The verandah, in which we were seated, was covered with white cloth; the pillars handsomely painted and gilded. In front of his Highness was an eperne, filled with flowers of the sambac, and on each side a servant held branches in which incense was burning. His Highness was considerably agitated at first, his breast visibly heaving; but after a little time he recovered himself, and behaved with great dignity and propriety. I paid the usual compliments through Major Symons and Narsingrow, assuring him of the satisfaction I felt at seeing him on the throne of his ancestors, and the confidence the British nation had in his friendship. He repeated what Narsingrow had before said: that he owed every thing to them, and that his gratitude was unbounded.

I turned the conversation to the new town of Mysore, and several indifferent subjects, to try if his replies would be ready. He never hesitated, spoke sensibly, and I was assured by Major Symons that he was not prompted. He is about eleven years old, of middle size, neither tall nor short of his age; not handsome, but of an intelligent countenance. He seemed lively; but on such a public occasion it would have been indecorous to have even smiled. He did so once, but was immediately checked by a person who stood by him. I enquired after his pursuits, and was informed that he was fond of riding, and the sports of the field. These were considered as becoming his dignity; but when I observed that he seemed playful, I was instantly assured that he was not so. I therefore ceased my questions, as I found that I should not hear of his doing any thing that was not according to rule. I strongly recommended his learning English, and pointed out the advantage it was to the Rajah of Tanjore, in his communications with the British Government, to be able to write and speak their language. They assured me that it should certainly be done. I regretted that his youth prevented my having the honour of receiving a visit from him at Seringapatam, and therefore requested that he would oblige me, by accepting from me a sabre as a small memorial. Having procured one for the purpose, which had a handle of agate ornamented with rubies after the Asiatic fashion, I delivered it into his own hand, and he immediately placed it beside him, assuring me that it should always lie by him for my sake, and that it was a particularly valuable present to him, as he was of Shatrya, or soldier cast. He in return put round my neck a handsome string of pearls, from which was suspended a jewel of flat diamonds and

uncut rubies. He also presented me in trays, which were as usual laid at my feet, two beautiful chowries, two punkahs, and two walking sticks of sandal wood, with two bottles of the oil, which he requested me to accept as being the produce of his country. Immediately a salute was fired from the walls of the fort, and the strings of sambac were put round our necks.

His mother sent her compliments, with inquiries after my health, and expressions of satisfaction at my having honoured her son with a visit. Immediately afterwards pawn and attar were distributed, and we took our leave. His Highness would have found it difficult to have risen, or rather descended, from his musnud to take his leave, as it was full four feet from the ground, and I should suppose he was not taller himself. I therefore shook hands with him where he was, and expressed, what I really felt, the strongest wishes for his health and prosperity.

Hitherto the acts of the Dewan Purneah have been such as to justify a reasonable expectation, that the young Rajah will, on his coming of age, find his country in a very flourishing state. As was naturally to be expected, the whole system of Tippoo has been done away, and every thing is restored to the same situation that it was in, prior to the usurpation of his father, except in one instance.

Mysore was formerly tributary to the Anagoondy Princes, sometimes called the Narsinga Rajahs. After the Patan dynasty was divided into the five independent states of Viziapore, Ahmednuggar, Berar, Beder, and Golconda, they united in a war against the Anagoondy Prince, and succeeded in destroying his power, by which means all the inferior Zemindars were liberated from his control, and

became independent. In the kingdom of Mysore, there were at least seventeen of these, who continued unsubdued till the time of Hyder and his son, who, in this respect judging wisely, expelled from the country an useless race of beings, leaving no one betweeen the Sovereign, as proprietor of the soil, and the ryot, as cultivator. On the restoration of the Hindoo princes, the Zemindars applied to Purnea to be reinstated, and would probably have succeeded, had not Colonel Close opposed their claims, as unreasonable, arguing with them that the Rajah had found them dispossessed, and that it could not be expected he would, without necessity, surrender to them so large a proportion of his dominions. He ultimately gained his object, by inducing some to accept small pensions, and by placing others about the person of the Rajah in a military capacity. Mysore exists, therefore, without a Zemindar, and the consequence has been, that for five years not a tumult has taken place in it, while the neighbouring provinces have been torn by war and insurrections.

March 3.—I dedicated this day to the viewing of Seringapatam. My first visit was to the curtain where the breach had been made. I was attended by several gentlemen who were present at the storming, and who kindly pointed out every circumstance to me. The attack was most judiciously made on a part where the Asiatic error of a long curtain had rendered a breach easy. The enfilading fire from the Bombay army, on the opposite side of the river, rendered the continuing on the ramparts a service of the greatest danger. The wretched natives, who were obliged to be there, had dug themselves holes in the earth, as some protection from the shot. In these they were taking their dinner, when the storming party entered, who put to death numbers of them before they could get out.

Tippoo had often been advised by his French officers, to carry an inner work from the Sultaun battery on the high ground, so as to cut off the north-west bastion, and that part of the curtain against which the attack was directed; but he was obstinate and ignorant. He seems to have had an idea that the Cauveri added much to his defence, for he had brought down the fortifications in an angle to the north-west bastion, that they might have it as a ditch on two sides. During the storm of the fourth of May, a small party of the soldiers, in the heat of the attack, passed from the outer to the inner rampart, over a wall which united them, though it was of great height, and not above a foot wide at top. The attempt was indeed so hazardous, that the same men were afraid, on the following day, when their blood was cool, to recross it. These, and a larger party who made their way in another direction, greatly assisted in the attack, by flanking the Sultaun and his attendants, who were bravely defending traverse after traverse, on the outer rampart, and were slowly retiring, before the superior force of the storming party, to the gateway in the inner wall. I think it probable, that his intentions were to retire immediately from a place that was no longer tenable, and to protract the war as long as possible, by putting himself at the head of his troops, that were without the town, and which amounted to about twenty thousand men. The Bangalore gate had been open during the whole of the siege; he could not therefore have had any difficulty in making his escape. If he had found it impossible to carry off his females, I think, from his character, there can be no doubt that he would have put them to death, and buried them in the ruins of his palace. All this was prevented by the fall of the tyrant; so

that probably his family were as great gainers by that event, as the British, who thereby escaped a protracted warfare.

The inner ditch and rampart have been wholly destroyed, except in the spot where the wall gave a passage to the soldiers; that I was happy to find preserved as a memorial of their courage. It is a singular circumstance, that the besiegers had no idea of the existence of such a ditch and inner wall till the storm took place, though they had native spies constantly in the place. The gateway, in which Tippoo fell, has been destroyed, with the inner work: a road is formed in its stead, with trees planted on each side, which will ultimately add much to the beauty of the town. It is still unknown who gave the fatal wound to the Sultaun: the invaluable string of pearls which he wore round his neck was the prize of the soldier, but it has never been produced or traced. He had been many years collecting this; always taking off an inferior pearl, when he could purchase one of more value.

We walked along the rampart for a little distance to the southward, where the fortifications are as strong, as they are weak on the banks of the Cauveri. Were it of importance to render Seringapatam a place of strength, the works proposed by the French ought to be carried into effect; but the time is arrived when the British can, in India, never have to defend themselves against a regular besieging army. It is certainly advisable that, as a military depot Seringapatam should be strong enough to resist any sudden attack from the native powers, which it now is, without alteration. The numerous and large buildings which it contains have given it the preference as a magazine over Bangalore, where the expense would have been very considerable in erecting them. I doubt, however,

whether this would not have been repaid by the additional salubrity of Bangalore: Seringapatam is far from healthy; and without the town, particularly toward the lower part of the island at the Lolbaug, fevers are frequent.

Seringapatam is much inferior to any capital which I have visited in India: the palaces of the Sultaun have neither the imposing massive dignity of the Hindoo architecture, nor the light airy elegance of the Mussulmaun buildings at Lucknow. The public apartments of Tippoo were handsome, but those of Hyder were plain in the extreme. The zenanas of both were extremely bad. They consisted each of a quadrangular building, two stories high, with verandahs all around, opening into the centre. Some of the rooms were large, but unornamented, and the pillars were of wood. I had seen several gentlemen who had entered them immediately after they were quitted by the females, and they assured me that they were then in as dirty a state as I now found them. The lamps had been placed in nitches in the walls, and the oil from each had been permitted to run down to the floor, forming a black stripe the whole way; and the wooden pillars in the largest rooms, and in the verandahs, had lost their colour by grease and dirt. How different from the description which Eastern tales have given us of these secluded apartments! In another respect they seem to have been more faithfully described; for it was evident the females here confined had a most vehement desire to view, at least, the forbidden males. The two zenanas of Tippoo and Hyder joined, and had a communication with each other. On each side was a palace of one of these princes. In the front was an entrance from the public square where the troops exercised, well secured, and guarded by eunuchs, yet in the

wall above were discovered numerous holes, from which the prisoners could behold all that passed without, which at least afforded more variety than the monotonous routine of the interior.

The Rajah of Mysore having been removed from Seringapatam, these buildings are appropriated to public purposes. Hyder's palace is the residence of the Surgeon; his zenana an European hospital. Tippoo's zenana is a barrack for the artillery; his private apartments are occupied by the Resident, and his public by the European troops. These buildings have externally a heavy appearance from the want of windows; but the view from them has been much improved by the English, who have opened the space to a temple of Shri Runga, which has a handsome effect from having a choultry in front, and a lofty tower of the Tanjore style of architecture. On the left is the ancient palace of the Mysore Rajahs, and on the right are the ramparts, with their avenues of young trees.

I next visited Tippoo's arsenal, which was formerly a choultry and pagoda annexed to the Rajah's palace. The architecture of the whole is massive, and much more ancient than the other buildings. The pillars are square, and covered with sculpture; but the spaces between have been filled up to adapt it for its present purposes, which renders it difficult to examine the work. Here are vast quantities of matchlocks, spears, cresses, Nair-knives, and chain-armour belonging to Tippoo, but which are useless to the British, and only valuable as old iron. These could be sold to the natives, but in the rebellious state of Malabar, they would probably soon be used against the sellers, and are therefore prudently retained. The most singular articles are several pieces of artillery cast by

Tippoo, and ornamented with the figure of a tiger devouring the head of an European, an emblem of the ferocity of the tyrant, and his implacability towards his Christian enemies. There is now here a considerable magazine of European musquets and field pieces.

The palace which adjoined was in ruins, and has been totally removed to make way for a manufacture of gun-carriages, which was established in 1802, under the direction of Captain Scott Formerly these were purchased at Madras by contract: the Rangoon teak was used, which is of an inferior quality, and the workmanship was in general so bad that a few months service rendered them useless. Captain Scott has instructed the natives in the working of the wood, iron, and brass, that is required. Every thing is done in one building; and although so short a period has elapsed since the commencement of the establishment, the manufacture is already advanced to a great degree of perfection. From the firmness of the teak wood, which is procured in the forests about forty miles from Seringapatam, they are enabled to give a lightness and elegance to the workmanship, without injuring its strength. The expense is still doubtful; but Captain Scott informed me, that he did not think it would exceed the former plan of purchasing by contract. If the first cost should even be greater, I think it will be advisable to continue the manufacture, as the additional price will be fully compensated by the greater durability of the materials. I was astonished that the natives could have been taught a new manufacture in so short a period. The highest credit is certainly due to Captain Scott for his exertions.

Mr. Salt arrived from his tour to the falls of the Cauveri, of

which he made several beautiful drawings. He delivered me the following report of his journey.

"February 16.—At eight in the morning I reached Conjeveram. The principal entrance to the great pagoda is very lofty, and resembles much in its shape and ornaments that at Tanjore. On the left, after passing through it, was a large edifice like a choultry, containing, as the Brahmins assert, and which appears probable from its great extent, a thousand pillars: many of these were handsomely and curiously carved with figures of Hindoo deities, some of which had a kind of halo, or glory, round their heads. Several of the groups were composed with more skill than usual, particularly one representing the alarm of a child, whom a Brahmin is tying to the altar of Mahadeo. The sides of the steps leading up to it were formed by two well carved elephants drawing a car. An elevated musnud occupied the centre. Opposite to this building was a tank, and several small pagodas: the side of one of them was covered with ancient and unknown characters, similar to those at the Seven Pagodas. On another were carved, in relief, some curious designs in compartments, two of which I sketched: the first is a species of centaur striking a bell over an altar, and the second represents Rama in the act of drawing his bow, which is of singular construction, with Hunimaun seated below. The second court, or inner square, being considered as holy, I was not admitted into it. This temple is dedicated to Seva. I afterwards ascended by seven flights of steps to the top of the large gateway: the view from it was extremely fine, consisting of extensive woods intersected by a large sheet of water, with numerous pagodas rising among the trees, and a magnificent range of retiring mountains in the distance.

To the west I observed a singularly shaped pagoda, which I was informed was Malabar; in consequence of which I immediately determined to visit it. It is situated about half a mile from Conjeveram. Its appearance, on reaching it, confirmed what I had heard of its antiquity, for it was of rude massive sculpture, and built in the same style of architecture as one of the temples carved out of the rocks at the Seven Pagodas. At the entrance were four monstrous lions, and a bull of clay, evidently modern. On the right of the entrance were seven circular buildings, covering as many lingams of polished granite, about two feet high, some circular, and others cut into numerous facings. The pagoda itself is pyramidical, and ending in a sort of dome at top. The accompanying drawing will give the best idea of its external appearance. Round the lower part of it is a band, about six inches broad, inscribed with unknown characters, similar to those before mentioned. The inside consists of two gloomy apartments: in the first were two small gilded statues of Rama and Seta dressed up, with only their heads visible, as at Ramiseram, and in the second was a lingam. This pagoda is, at present, entirely deserted."

"February 17.—At ten I reached Arcot, and waited on Major Macleod, the Collector, who received me with much attention. Arcot, which was once large and populous, bears strong marks of the devastation of war, the greater part of it being now in ruins. It is chiefly inhabited by Mahomedans, who, as Major Macleod told me, are very quiet subjects, and easily managed by a little attention to their prejudices. He lately gave them a few hundred rupees to celebrate a festival, which has had the best effect. He has also projected a plan to rebuild the city, which, if Government

should approve of it, will be of great importance, as there is considerable trade here, and under the secure government of the English, settlers are daily coming in."

"February 18th I was at Vellore, and on the 19th reached Amboor. The whole country through which I had passed from Arcot, too evidently shewed that it had not yet recovered its population; many parts that were before cultivated, being left barren and waste. The village of Amboor is neat, and regularly built; its inhabitants are industrious, and make a considerable quantity of castor oil, which they export. On the west side of it is a lofty isolated mountain, on which stood a fort almost impregnable by nature; the only approach to it being by a narrow and very steep path, through a smaller fort at the base. The upper works have been entirely destroyed since it came into our possession; and the lower, in which some malefactors were confined, were guarded by a few sepoys commanded by a native officer. In the course of the day, with much fatigue, I ascended to the top; I found a plain there, sufficiently large to have rendered its cultivation an object of some importance, and two tanks, near which the barracks had formerly stood. The view from it was noble and extensive, and the air cool and pleasant, in comparison with what I had found it below. In the evening a rupee procured for myself and bearers sufficient food for the day."

"February 20.—Early in the morning I reached Vanambaddi. I here met with Mr. Cator, a gentleman who was assisting Major Lambton in his survey; and it was fortunate that I did so, for I found shortly after that a cooly had run away in the night with all my eatables and breakfast apparatus. He kindly assisted me in re-

pairing the loss, and in the evening we moved on together a few miles to a spot where he pitched his tent, and I slept in the open air in my palanquin."

"*February* 21.—After breakfast we rode forward, on Mr. Cator's horses, through a continued jungle to Kishnagherri, leaving our palanquins to follow in the evening. Though it was full thirty miles, we arrived in three hours and a half, and suffered no inconvenience from it afterwards. I found here Mr. Kelso, the Collector of the district, from whom I received much attention. Here is another of the hill forts, and one of the strongest in the Baramahal, which was never taken but by surprise. This was likewise destroyed by the English. There is something extremely grand and singular in the appearance of these isolated mountains."

"*February* 23.—After travelling all night through a very wild and romantic country, which by the clear light of the moon was perhaps rendered more beautiful than it would have appeared by day, I reached Riacotta at ten. As the scenery here was particularly fine, I staid a day with Colonel Leighton for the purpose of taking views. Riacotta is one of the few hill forts which are still kept up by the English in the Baramahal; probably from the importance of its situation as bordering on the Mysore. I went nearly round it in the course of the day, and partly up it, to a small pagoda excavated from the rock, in front of which is built up a terrace, that commands an extensive view over the adjacent country. Below Colonel Leighton has a large garden, abounding in European productions: the climate is so temperate as to enable him to raise great variety of fruits and vegetables. Cherry trees flourish here remarkably well."

"February 25.—Early in the morning I reached Ossour, where the Hindoos were celebrating one of their festivals. The scene was extremely gay; and while they were conveying the god in procession, I took the accompanying view of his chariot. At three I again departed, and at twelve arrived at Anicul, where I found a party of twenty-five hircarrahs and peons, who had been ordered, through the kindness of Lord William Bentinck, to meet and attend me to Sevasummoodra."

"February 26.—I proceeded without stopping, and by morning got to Tulli, where Mr. Kelso has built a small bungelow for the accommodation of travellers. The day was most unpleasant, the air intensely hot, and nothing to be seen or procured, the inhabitants being as poor as the place was wretched; my bearers, peons, and self, therefore, fared indifferently."

"February 27.—By day break I arrived at Cankinelli. My peons brought me in a tiger which they had killed, measuring upwards of eight feet from the nose to the tip of the tail. Here I was provided by the people of the village, in compliance with orders from Seringapatam, with every thing necessary for myself and attendants."

"February 28.—It was sultry during the night, and though I set out early I did not reach Mahavilli until late in the morning. From the rate at which I had travelled, amounting on an average to between thirty and forty miles a day, though I had never hurried them on, I found that my bearers were nearly worn out, notwithstanding I had eight additional to assist them from the last stage: one of them dropt down to day, whom, in consequence, I was obliged to leave behind. Since my arrival in the Mysore, I have been received at every village with tom-toms, &c. by the inhabitants, a

noisy kind of ceremony with which I would gladly have dispensed. At Mahavilli I saw, for the first time, a few large bats* flying about in the middle of the day, and thousands of them clinging by their feet to two trees, close to the choultry in which I rested: about two thirds of them were in constant motion, fanning with their wings, and they kept up a continual shrieking noise. I requested one of them might be shot, to which no objection being made, a peon fired at them with two balls, which killed three of them. On firing there was a prodigious cry, and the greater part flew screaming over our heads. They measured above four feet from wing to wing. Their heads are considerably like that of a fox, and their hair of the same colour; altogether they are most hideous animals."

"In the evening I went about three miles to see a garden belonging to Tippoo. It was of great extent, laid out in strait walks, and filled with mango, guava, lime, orange, and pomegranate trees: the guavas and pomegranates were ripe, and the mango trees more beautiful in blossom. It seems never to have been completed, as there is only a small building for seeds, and no place to have received the Prince had he visited it. Its neighbourhood has done little good to the inhabitants, as in passing through the village, which is between it and the fort, I found a great part of the houses deserted, and every appearance of much wretchedness. The country around is flat."

"February 29.—I arrived at Talicut early in the morning. The village was covered with a thick and unpleasant fog; I therefore shut myself up in my palanquin until ten, by which time the sun

* The large Ternate bat of Dr. Shaw.

had partly dispersed it. I imagine this vapour must be very noxious, from the great care which the inhabitants take to guard themselves against its influence. They were all wrapped up in coarse black mantles, with their mouths cautiously covered, and looked more like spirits of the infernal regions than human beings: even those of moderate age looked old and gray-bearded. The hills around at mid-day were scarcely visible; and to add to the misery of its situation, there was a range of sand hills at the back of the town, that reflected an intense heat into the place. There is a pagoda here of antient structure; within the wall that surrounds it, is the statue of a bull judiciously placed on the top of a small temple, about twelve feet in length and eight and a half in height, with garlands of flowers and rich trappings about it, as in the accompanying drawing."

"March 1.—I arrived this morning at Sattigul, the nearest station to the falls of the Cauveri where accommodations can be procured. I proceeded about five miles from that place when I reached the island of Sevasumnmoodra. Here were the ruins of a bridge across the Cauveri, communicating with the island, which was formed entirely of large columns of black granite, each about two feet diameter and twenty feet in length. This magnificent work, which was upwards of three hundred yards in extent, was at this time so nearly destroyed, that the palanquin was with great difficulty carried over the broken masses that choaked up the stream: of this a drawing is given. Directly opposite was the southern gate of a wall that surrounded the city, to which there had been formerly a flight of steps. The interior was a complete jungle of long grass, with many banian trees in it of great size, where still however might be

traced the principal street, extending from south to north in a strait line across, and in length about a mile. About a quarter of a mile on, was a flat stone raised perpendicularly, with an inscription carved upon it in unknown characters, standing in front of a square surrounding a small pagoda, on the top of which were originally four statues of bulls, one of which had been thrown down by a banian tree, that had burst asunder the building. In the inmost recess of this pagoda was a statue of Seva, with all his attributes, well carved in black granite, and in excellent preservation."

"At some distance farther was another temple much like the former; and a hundred yards behind it one of larger dimensions. The first apartment was supported by four rows of pillars, eight deep, and about ten feet asunder. Here among some ruins lay a small and curious statue; the upper part of it, as far as the waist, was human, with four arms; below, it ended in the shape of a serpent, which was twined underneath, forming a seat. The seven heads of the serpent rose into a canopy over the head of the figure. The doorway leading into the second apartment was elegantly and richly carved, resembling those in the temple of Benares, which are justly considered as perfect examples of this branch of Hindoo architecture. In this apartment was a statue of Vishnoo, seven feet long, in the best style of Indian sculpture: it reposed at full length on a high raised pedestal, with the head lying due south. The figure was fat, like that of the native princes; it had on the pyramidical cap, and was represented as richly dressed, and ornamented with jewels. The eyes were closed; one arm resting on his pillow, and the other across his body, and seven covra capellas formed a canopy over his head. These apartments were small and dark: for the

purpose of examining them I had procured torches. On the outside stood a large figure of Hunimaun, in alto-relievo. West of this a few hundred yards is the river, and some remains of another bridge similar to the other."

" Returning to the great street, and proceeding north, I saw the ruins of several other pagodas, of which, as they were all deserted, I was enabled to examine the inmost recesses. I found them to consist of a succession of apartments, gradually becoming smaller and more gloomy as they retire, and the principal statue, invariably, in the farthest chamber. One of them was dedicated to Parbutti, the wife of Seva. There is also a choultry, with very lofty pillars. Most of these buildings were of brick, covered with stone."

" After passing the northern gateway, I went on to the waterfall, distant nearly a mile. I had heard so much at Madras of this waterfall, from persons who had seen it in the rainy season, that I was, on approaching it, considerably disappointed. It falls indeed from a very great height, certainly upwards of a hundred and fifty feet, but the body of water is not at this season sufficient in quantity to make it grand. It is precipitated down in four channels from an apparently level surface above, and its fall is broken by numerous projecting rocks, the largest of which are near the centre, almost dividing it into two stages. In the rainy season it must be astonishingly grand, as there are many channels, now dry, through which the water must then rush with tremendous force, since huge masses have been torn up, and such marks of desolation spread around, that even in the absence of the torrent, they appear exceedingly awful. The accompanying scenery is wild in the extreme, though the magnitude of the rocks makes the trees on the hill opposite, which

is singularly smooth for its situation, look very diminutive. After traversing the bank, and viewing it from several points, I descended into one of the deepest of the chasms; and having taken the accompanying and several other views of the fall, undisturbed by the tigers, which are reported to be very numerous in the neighbourhood, I returned to a small choultry above. I had understood that there was another fall of nearly equal consequence; but notwithstanding repeated enquiries, my guides, either from a desire of hastening back, or from unwillingness to stay in so solitary a spot, insisted upon it so strenuously that there was nothing more worth seeing, that, however reluctantly, I was compelled to return dissatisfied to Sattigul. On arriving at Seringapatam I found that I was right, as the southern branch has also a fall, but it might have been almost dry."

"March 2.—I proceeded to Narsipore, where there is a pagoda on an island filled with monkeys, that are constantly fed and much reverenced. In the evening I went forward to Seringapatam, where I arrived in the night."

Thus far Mr. Salt's Journal.

March 4.—Narsingrow waited on me, to inform me that the bearers would be ready in the evening, and that fresh ones were placed at each stage to Mangalore. He delivered me a message from his father, expressing his regret at the conduct of his relation at Bangalore, which he had punished, by dismissing him from all his employments. I assured Narsingrow that I had no such intention in mentioning it to him, and that I hoped he would be reinstated. He declared that his father would never permit it, as he might continue his disobliging conduct to the English, and excite dissatisfaction. I thought his dismissal too great a blessing to the people of

Bangalore to press the point any further. Bucherow having heard that I had been enquiring for a Nair's-knife, requested I would accept one which, he said, Providence had placed in his hands purposely to give to me. I accepted it with thanks, telling him I was rejoiced to find Providence took such good care of me, for the weapon was handsome of its kind, and ornamented with silver. Narsingrow said his father had written to him, to request I would not leave Seringapatam, without visiting the bridge he was erecting over the Cauveri on the Bangalore road. I promised to stop there in the evening.

Many of my friends joined me at an early dinner in the palace; amongst others Dr. White, of the medical staff, of whom I made some enquiries respecting the medical practice of the natives. He assured me that their ignorance was extreme; that they used some of the mineral remedies, particularly calomel; but that they administered it in such strong doses, as frequently to prove more destructive than the disease it was meant to eradicate. An usual emetic is composed by suspending a small copper coin in acid, till the solution has taken place sufficiently to operate; but their temerity is sometimes punished by death from the strength of the dose. Starvation is another prescription for all diseases. Purneah's daughter perished by it not long before my arrival. The fever was conquered, but the weakness was so great that the patient sunk under it. A medicine is considered as increasing in value, according to the number of ingredients it contains, which frequently amount to fifty, when it is infallible. In Canara, I am told, the toddy drawers are the physicians: they cannot be worse than their brethren of Mysore. Dr. White assured me that he had seen the volatile alkali used in above

one hundred instances for the cure of the bite of poisonous serpents and always with success.

It was dark before I set off for the bridge, accompanied by Major Symons, who to the last continued his kindness in acting as my interpreter. All the workmen had been detained, and were pretending to work away most merrily by the glare of thousands of flambeaus, which were lighted in an instant, and by the broad gleams that they threw on the rude pillars, had a much more beautiful effect than the full brightness of day. The river was so low that it was passable on foot. I seated myself with Narsingrow on some large stones, and continued for some time to admire the scene, which was enlivened by thousands of spectators, breaking the still gloom around us by their white dresses, and moving in every direction. The bridge is a singular work, and is constructed like that of which Mr. Salt saw the ruins at Sevasummoodra, so that in the practice of bridge-building there has been no improvement for these three hundred years. It is constructed of pillars about eighteen feet high, by from two to three feet square. Of these there are three rows of sixty-seven each, sunk in the solid rock, ten feet from each other, but united at top, and made steady by large stones laid flat and close together, on which is laid the gravel. These large stones are all raised by manual labour, without any mechanical assistance, which renders it a work of time. The expense has already amounted to ten thousand pagodas, and will probably cost as much more, for the upright stones are not all completed. They expect, however, to have this done before the next rains, when it can be continued without interruption. Purneah has been at the whole expense, as he says, to show the Rajah's wish to accommodate the English garrison,

to whom it will certainly be a very great convenience in the rains, when a communication with the northern bank was almost impossible. To the southward there was an old bridge on a similar construction, a part of which answered as an aqueduct.

Hyder Hyssein Khan, the eldest of Tippoo's nephews, attended to take his leave. I enquired after his brother: he replied, he was unwell at home, or would have waited on me but; the probability was, that he had no horse. At eight I took leave of all my friends, and accompanied by Mr. Salt set off for Mangalore.

The road was extremely rough, and before I reached Chirconally, which was my first stage of five miles, the bearers had fallen several times, though they took three hours to perform it. Their successors were more careful, or the road was better, for I slept soundly the rest of the night.

March 5.—I reached Keekary by seven in the morning, distant, according to an account sent me by Purneah, fifteen miles from Chirconally. The town is small, and has a mud fort, which I did not enter. In an open space near, was a small pagoda, under the shade of which I received the usual presents from the chief man of the town, and took my breakfast. At eight we set off, passing one very large tank. The country was finely undulated, but cultivation had taken place only in the valleys, where numerous tanks secured a constant supply of water. The Elate sylvestris, and Phœnixa fannifer of Roxburgh, were in great abundance. At a distance many hills were to be seen. I reached Chinraypatam, a stage of fifteen miles, by two o'clock. At a small distance from it I was met by the Aumil and Killadar, with the usual presents, fruit, and sugar cane, and a profusion of cocoa-nuts, which I saw growing

in abundance in the vicinity. The fortifications of Chinraypatam have been newly repaired. It has a glacis, ditch, and walls, well built of stone, and round towers and bastions, with embrasures for cannon, but I could not perceive that any were mounted.

My bearers from this place were so bad, that, after going five miles in three hours, they were unable to proceed. I therefore stopped and dined in a very beautiful country, near a village that had a mud wall, and at one extremity a cavalier. Here were two considerable tanks, that looked like natural lakes. Many rice fields were in the highest luxuriance, and near them groves of areca, banana, mango, and cocoa-nut trees. At a distance were several lofty hills covered with jungle, that added much to the beauty of the landscape. I had sent a messenger on to Gramah, to bring the bearers from that place to meet us; they arrived by six, and carried me to within a mile of Hasana, a distance of nearly twelve miles, in three hours. Here I was met by the Aumil of the district, with fresh bearers; he was accompanied by the commander at Hasana, who presented such a profusion of fruit, that my palanquin would hardly contain it: they had a large body of peons and sepoys. The change of temperature in the course of this day was most remarkable. In my palanquin the thermometer at noon stood at 90°, at sun-set it was 80°, at seven o'clock 75°, and in the course of the night at 64°. Attended by the chiefs, their troops, drums, trumpets, and crowd of natives, it was impossible to sleep till I had passed Hasana, when they took their leave. The town, as seen by the light of their torches, appeared to be strongly fortified.

March 6.—I awoke before sun-rise, and found myself on the bank of a small river, on the opposite side of which, several

natives of little respectability were waiting to receive me. They quitted the road, and escorted me over ploughed fields and ditches to Paliam, a picturesque little town, situated on a small ascent, with a pagoda, and surrounded by fine trees, where I arrived by seven. They conducted me to a choultry prepared for my reception, cleared, and covered with white cloth; but as the morning was already hot, and these places, being closed by walls on three sides, are close and unpleasant, I refused to enter, and directed them to go on, preferring to rest under some of the trees, on the outside of the town, where we proceeded and breakfasted.

At eight o'clock we departed with a double complement of bearers, who, from their aukwardness, I should suppose had never before carried a palanquin. Vegetation did not extend further than a very little distance from the town, when we began to approach the hills, which we had long seen, and to enter on a country always undulated, and frequently rising into lofty eminences. The jungle was very thick, and is said to be the haunt of tigers. That we might not be incommoded by these ferocious animals, Purneah had directed the grass to be set fire to on each side of the path, so that a regular black stripe of several hundred yards marked our way. In some places the fire was not yet extinguished, but rose into smoke at a distance. The scenery improved considerably as we advanced. The smaller hills before us, and in the foreground, were covered with large timber trees: the mountains had their tops bare, but the lower part was shaded by timber-trees and jungle; occasionally very large spaces were left open, which must, later in the spring, be covered with a brilliant verdure. At present the dry grass, which so easily takes fire, covers the whole country, and adds to the

savageness of the scene. To the northward was a range of lofty blue mountains, rising one above the other till they were lost in the haze. To the south was a more cultivated country, with detached smaller hills, on one of which the winding walls of a hill-fort were visible.

We rested here for a little time to refresh our bearers, who were exhausted with the heat, and to give Mr. Salt an opportunity to take a sketch of the scenery, which was finer than any thing I had yet beheld in India. Herefordshire, with the distant view of the Welsh mountains, may be honoured by being in some degree compared to it. We had ascended to this point, but now began gradually to descend by a winding path, so rocky as much to incommode the bearers, who on coming up with the men that had been employed by Purneah to clear the way for us, obliged them to assist in carrying the palanquins. As I approached Ooscottah the timber-trees were much larger, and cultivation again appeared. It is a neat little town separated by a valley from a fort which seems strong, and is well placed, having no hill near it. Here, as in every other part of the Mysore, the small rivulet has been turned into a tank by a lofty mound carried across the valley. These works, of great labour and infinite utility, do honour to the ancient princes of the country, by whom they were formed. The bigotry of Tippoo had destroyed many, which had their origin in the useful zeal of the Hindoos for their deities; but Purneah is rapidly repairing these national injuries, and will, I have no doubt, raise the country to its former prosperity. We did not reach this place till three o'clock. It is said to be fourteen miles from Paliam. The chief man of the place, as usual, brought me fruit, and procured whatever else I required.

This was the last place from which the bearers of the Rajah of Mysore were to convey me; but to avoid any mistake I had written to Mr. Ravenshaw, the Collector of Canara, to station boys from this place, hence to Mangalore: they were not however arrived; I therefore set off at six o'clock, with the Rajah's boys. The ascents and descents were so frequent and steep, that I was kept in continual alarm, lest they should throw me down. Before it was quite dark I reached the banks of a river, on the other side of which was a large assembly of people. On passing I was received by a most respectable man, the Aumil of the district, attended by several other natives, apparently of consequence. His nazur of fruit was the most plentiful I had yet received, and, in addition to the usual articles, consisted of walnuts and pine-apples. He was very well mounted and armed, and showed me, with great appearance of satisfaction, a certificate of Colonel Stevenson, that he had been most active and useful in the suppressing of Dundeah's rebellion: I regret that I forgot his name. He attended for some distance, and on departure left a large guard of sepoys to protect me. Here I was rejoiced to meet the bearers from Mangalore. As we advanced the scenery became more wild, and the road so uneven, that though the bearers were excellent, they were frequently obliged to rest themselves, for we were now entering the defiles of the chain of mountains, that separates the table-land of Mysore from the low country of Canara and Malabar. It was two o'clock in the morning when we reached Purneah Chuttoor, a distance of twenty miles. This place is at the summit of the Bessely Gaut, the most southern of the whole.

March 7.—At three in the morning I began to descend this cele-

brated Gaut. The road has been formed with great labour out of a bed of loose rock, over which the torrents in winter had run with such force as to wash away all the softer parts, and in several places to leave single rocks, of four or five feet diameter, standing in the centre of the road, not above two feet asunder. To get the palanquin over these was a tedious and difficult business: however it escaped uninjured. The boys were obliged to use sticks with iron spikes at the end, to prevent themselves from being thrown forward by the weight of the palanquin, though I walked the whole way, not only to relieve them, but to admire the sublimity of the scene. We had entered a forest of the largest trees of the East, several of which were one hundred feet in the stem before a single branch extended; yet the descent was so steep, that I was frequently on a level with their tops at so small a distance, as to be able to distinguish them by the gleam of the numerous torches which accompanied me, but which were insufficient to enlighten the impenetrable canopy of foliage that for miles concealed the face of heaven, or the deep gloom of the abyss into which we seemed to be descending. In the day time the scene could not have been half so awful or magnificent. Purneah had continued his attentions to us, by an endeavour to repair the worst part of the road: had nothing been done, I know not how we should have ever passed it. General Wellesley made the road perfectly good; but the descent was so steep, and the torrents so violent, that one rainy season reduced it to the state in which I found it. Our descent was impeded by meeting with numerous droves of oxen which were ascending the Gaut loaded with salt, having carried down grain to Mangalore. Towards day I came to a turn in the road, where an opening

showed me the lofty mountain I had been descending, covered with forest to nearly its summit. We had passed several rivulets; here they had joined and formed a small stream. On Mr. Salt's joining me at Mangalore, who for want of bearers had been obliged to keep one stage in the rear, I was happy to find that this scene had so struck him from its magnificence, that he had taken a drawing of it.

I was now able to perceive the rich vegetation around me, and which immediately struck me with surprise, from its resemblance to that of Ceylon. The branches of the loftiest trees were covered by the parasitical tribe; the Epidendrons and Filices were various and beautiful; but the most conspicuous was the Dracontium pertusum, which perfectly covered the gigantic stem of the Ficus bengalensis with its leaves. The Laurus cassia was amongst the underwood; and the side of the road was beautified by several species of Justicia. I frequently stopped to wander a little from the road to collect seeds, in which I was very successful. I passed a small village in the centre of this immense forest, where the inhabitants were threshing their grain in a truly patriarchal manner; on a floor of hard earth the grain was trodden by oxen, which, according to the Mosaical law, were left unmuzzled.

About eight I got to a small building which had been erected for my use, and was shaded by leaves of the cocoa-nut tree: it was only four coss from the last stage. Near my resting-place was a small pagoda, the Brahmins of which came to pay their compliments, and presented a nazur of fruit, milk, and some very tolerable sweet-meats; in return for which I made a small present to the deity. I waited here an hour and a half to rest my bearers, and to break-fast. As we advanced we left the close forest behind us, and had

frequent openings of lawn and cultivated country. A small river ran on our left, and beyond were the hills, covered with timber to the summit. Towards the north the chain of blue mountains was again visible. I was delighted with the scenery, and frequently stopped to admire it, and collect seeds, though the thermometer at this time stood at 92°. As we approached Currup, the timber trees gave place to jungle, and cultivated tracts were much more frequent. I arrived there at half past three, having been above twelve hours coming nineteen miles. Here my peons applied for permission to return, which I immediately granted: they then wished for some cooleys, for what purpose I cannot even conjecture, unless it was to ease them of the weight of their muskets; but this I most positively refused, and they departed much dissatisfied. I staid here till six, when Mr. Ravenshaw's peons arrived, bringing with them fresh bearers. These did not go well, and in consequence I did not get to Ooperungeri till three o'clock, a distance of only sixteen miles.

I awoke at day break and found myself on the banks of the Netravati, which, having been joined by the Cumardari, was of very considerable dimensions, though the stream was now low. In the rainy season this river is sufficiently deep to float down to Mangalore the enormous teak trees, and other species of timber trees, that are cut in the forests of the mountains that I had passed. On ascending a steep hill, I had a very fine view of the river winding through a rich country of intermingled wood and cultivation. The Borassus flabelliformis was common; the cocoa-nut tree only to be found close to the villages. The country was not picturesque, from the hills being divided into terraces for the purposes of cultivation; but the appearance of general prosperity fully

compensated for the diminution of beauty. At ten, having gone a stage of sixteen miles, I reached Buntwall, a very large open town, with a great number of mud houses. I was met at the entrance by a very pleasing man, the Aumil, who conducted me through a very long street to his habitation. The front of every house was crowded as I passed, and across the street were suspended festoons of white cloth. The area of the Aumil's house had been covered in, so as to render it very cool and pleasant. I entered in my palanquin to avoid the crowd, and was conducted to an elevated verandah on one side, which was covered with white cloth, and had cushions. The Aumil himself offered the usual nazur of fruit, and then presented to me the chief inhabitants of the town, who each in their turn laid cocoa-nuts at my feet; amongst these I for the first time observed some of the variety called Sultanie, from their supposed superior merit. They are larger, and their outsides of a brilliant orange. The pine-apples were excellent. The Aumil informed me that Buntwall is now very flourishing from being the chief mart of the trade carried on between Mysore and Canara. I saw myself a great number of horses in the street, which were going up to mount the cavalry at Madras. The inhabitants are chiefly Brahmins, but of an inferior class.

At eleven I set off on my last stage of seventeen miles to Mangalore. The country was very uneven, though the road was good, being a perfect pavement of large stones: every valley was cultivated. At length, on ascending a steep hill, I had the satisfaction of beholding the river of Mangalore, a noble expanse of water, and the sea beyond it. Here I first found the brick stone, a substance which, before it is dug up, is sufficiently soft to be cut into any shape, but

when exposed to the air becomes as hard as stone. It resembles brick in its appearance, but is more porous. It is much used for building houses, and even bridges have been formed of it, which stand perfectly well. At three o'clock Mr. Ravenshaw's own bearers met me at a small mosque and Mussulmaun burying-place, from which the descent to the town commences. On approaching it I was met by all Mr. Ravenshaw's peons, and soon afterwards by himself, who kindly conducted me to some large tents pitched in his garden for my reception, where I found a guard of sepoys, placed for my protection, by the commanding officer of the troops.

Mangalore was the only sea-port in the territories of Tippoo, and was accordingly much valued by him, although it had only sufficient depth of water on the bar for small vessels. He however contrived to get over it ships of five hundred tons, which he had built chiefly for the purpose of collecting his revenue from the numerous tributary Rajahs who lived along the coast, and accumulated large sums by piracy. The harbour itself is deep, and of considerable extent: the bar operates as a protection to the numerous coasting-vessels, that now carry on the ra pidly encreasing trade of the Mysore and Canara. No place has had more reason to rejoice at the change of masters than Mangalore, for trade is tenfold what it was under the Mussulmaun government. At present I understand, from Mr. Ravenshaw, that the exports amount to eleven lacs of rupees per annum, of which rice alone yields nine lacs, bearing a duty of ten per cent. without any detriment to the cultivator; and probably as Mysore encreases in prosperity, the produce will be much greater. The imports consist chiefly of cloths from Surat and its vicinity; horses to mount the Company's cavalry at Madras; a few drugs

from Arabia; sugar, and a considerable quantity of salt; for although Canara produces a sufficient quantity for its own consumption, it can by no means supply the vast demand of the table-land without importation. The very great balance in favour of Mangalore is paid in specie.

Two rivers, that take their rise in the hills, here enter the sea, the one from the north, the other from the south, which bring down in the rainy season the lofty timber that has been felled during the dry season, and conveyed by great exertions to their banks. I saw some spars that were ninety feet long, and a quantity of timber well adapted for naval purposes, which Admiral Rainier had directed to be sent to the dock-yard at Bombay. It is extremely unfortunate that the bar, which has at present only ten feet water on it, prevents Mangalore from becoming a naval station, for which it is so well adapted, by the extensive supply of timber, the fertility of the country around it, and the salubrity of the climate. Here are the magazines for the sandal-wood, which grows on the Mysore hills, and of which the India Company have a monopoly from the Rajah. The quantity and the price of it are very uncertain, varying according to the size of the stick, which is sometimes in diameter only three inches, and rarely exceeds a foot. It is cut into logs of four feet long by the axe; were it done with a saw, the saving would be very considerable; but it is difficult to persuade an Indian to change his instruments. The sandal is chiefly exported to China, where it is burnt by the Chinese on certain festivals before the images of their ancestors.

Fortunately for the province of Canara, it has had able and liberal men to govern it, since it fell under the British Govern-

ment in 1799; too much praise cannot be given to Major Monro, who first formed its civil arrangements, or to Mr. Ravenshaw, who succeeded him. In fact, it is impossible for a province to be in a more flourishing state; and I must, in a great degree, attribute this to the total absence of Zemindars, the occupier holding the land under Government, without any intermediate tenant, and paying what may be considered as the value of a quarter of the produce. No man holds an estate of more than the annual value of five hundred pagodas. The revenue is collected by native officers, without the necessity of calling in the military to reduce refractory chiefs to obedience; the laws are strictly enforced, but are never used as instruments of oppression; cultivation is rapidly extending itself; the inhabitants are contented, and increasing in riches; the Government is undisturbed by tumults, and yearly receiving an additional revenue. How different has been the state of the province of Malabar, which has naturally equal advantages, from the moment we received it to the present day!

Tippoo had, during his reign, driven the Zamorin and the Nairn Rajahs from Malabar, as completely as from Canara, and they were wandering in distress among the jungles, when the former province was ceded to Lord Cornwallis. Unfortunately his Lordship was impressed with the idea, that it was advisable to have large landholders, and that the Nairns were an amiable race, who had been cruelly oppressed; Mr. Duncan was therefore sent down to restore the Zamorin and Nairn Rajahs to the privileges they had held prior to the Mussulmaun conquest, but at the same time to establish British courts of judicature, where causes were to be decided according to British laws. The Rajahs, agreeably surprised by

the summons, came back immediately; they understood what it was to be princes, but had no idea of British courts of judicature, and accordingly became indignant when these attempted to controul them. Had the servants of the India Company acted with firmness, united with gentleness, tranquillity might have been preserved; but some of these gentlemen seem to have thought only of making rapid fortunes, whilst others gave way to all the violence of their passions, and acted unjustifiably towards the Nairns. The Cottiote Rajah at length broke into open rebellion, in consequence of one of his chief servants having been seized and flogged before his face; having before had several disputes with the Government, respecting the payment of a tribute for Wynaad.

The Bombay Government now determined on an arrangement, which ought to have been originally proposed to the Rajahs, to give them handsome pensions, but no civil power. This was carried into effect with all of them, except the chief of Cottiote, who still continues in open rebellion, and defies the British power. Colonel Stevenson chased him from jungle to jungle with such celerity, that he frequently reached the spot where he had just taken his miserable meal; but without any final success. The Rajah keeps the whole country in alarm, and even extends his incursions to the vicinity of Tellicherry, which he lately entered, and burnt several houses. His cause is by no means unpopular, for two of his nephews, who had been taken prisoners, not only escaped from Cannanore, where they were confined, but induced their guard of sepoys to desert with them. The loss which the Company have sustained in officers and men, during this insignificant warfare, has probably been greater than in the war with Tippoo; and I doubt whether

they have yet received any revenue from the fertile province of Malabar. As the misconduct of their servants has been acknowledged, by the legal prosecutions which have been carried on against them, I think the Government ought to behold the rebellion of the Cottiote Rajah without resentment, and should use gentle means to recall him to his duty. Had men like Colonel Monro and Mr. Ravenshaw been employed in Malabar, I have no doubt that the disturbances would have been prevented; and were their principles to be now adopted, I feel confident that tranquillity would be restored, and that the Company would shortly receive an ample revenue, instead of being obliged to sacrifice their troops in a dangerous and useless warfare.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

I.

Account of the population of the City of Benares in the Year 1801, referred to in page 105.

THE total number of dwelling-houses in the city of Benares is reckoned at 29,935, which are estimated to contain 582,625 inhabitants, at the following average for each class of building.

		Average number of Inhabitants of each House.	
Houses of brick and stone.			
1st Class of one story high -	500	- 15 -	7,500
2d Class of two ditto -	5,500	- 20 -	110,000
3d Class of three ditto -	3,600	- 25 -	90,000
4th Class of four ditto -	1,500	- 40 -	60,000
5th Class of five ditto - -	755	- 100 -	75,500
6th Class of six ditto - -	300	- 150 -	45,000
Houses of mud with tiled roofs.			
1st Class of one story high -	10,200	from 7 to 10	96,900
2d Class of two ditto -	6,076	- 15 -	91,140
Huts composed of straw and tiles	1,325	- 4 -	5,300
Garden-houses			
Brick and stone - -	78	- 10 - -	780
Tiled roofs - -	101	- 5 - -	505
	29,935		582,625

Included in the above enumeration of houses are 9008 tenements which adjoin to, and originally formed a part of them, but which are now found to be separately occupied, and may be considered as distinct habitations, as will appear from the following detail of dwelling-houses inhabited by the sev eraldescriptions, casts, trades, and professions, residing in the city of Benares.

	Number of Houses.
By Hindoos andMahomedans of character, in the service of persons of rank, and of foreign states, vakeels, agents of Aumils, and agents in concerns of revenue and trade and pensions - - - - - - -	2,500
Armed peons, Rajepoots, Birjbaussee, and Mahomedans,	2,000
Hindoos and Mussulmauns, gomastahs in the service of merchants and traders - - -	1,500
Hindoos of independent fortunes, who have from religious motives fixed their residence at Benares, - -	2,000
Brahmins* subsisting by charitable contributions, though each has property of his own - - - -	7,500
Hindoos and Mussulmauns, following the several occupations of khidmutgars, chobdars, elephant, camel, and hackery drivers, horse-breakers, grooms, sellers of grass, and mussalchees, - - - - -	2,500
Manjees, and dandies, Hindoos, - - - -	307
Physicians, Hindoos and Mussulmauns, - - -	110
Masons, stone-cutters, carpenters, and porters, both Hindoos and Mussulmauns, - - - - -	2,153
Carried forward,	20,570

* Whenever any persons of rank come on pilgrimage to Benares from the Dukkien, they distribute alms to all the Brahmins of this description. On these occasions the Brahmins receiving alms have been reckoned to the number of 7000.

	Number of Houses.
Brought forward	20,570
Bearers, Hindoos only, - - - - -	406
Barbers, Hindoos and Mussulmauns, - - -	385
Washermen - - - - - - -	518
Timbrel players, sweepers of places of worship, and washers of dead bodies, Mahomedans, - - - -	70
Minstrels, prostitutes, mountebanks, and dancing-women	280
Hindoo students, and faquirs both Hindoos and Mussulmauns, who live in alms-houses - - -	250
By merchants, shopkeepers, tradesmen, dealers, mechanics, handicrafts, and labourers, viz.	
Bankers, shroffs, and money-changers, Hindoos, - -	820
Jewellers, Hindoos, - - - - - -	150
Goshoyns,* Hindoo merchants, - - - -	500
Wholesale dealers in cloth, Hindoos, - - -	768
Sellers of small wares and toys, Mussulmauns, - -	170
Weavers and carpet-makers, † Mussulmauns, - -	3,030
Weavers of gauze and kincaub, lacemen and silkmen, Hindoos of the Rajepoot cast, - - - - -	580
Venders of drugs and spices, Hindoos, - - -	360
Brokers, criers, dealers in cloth by retail, hawkers and pedlars, Hindoos, - - - - - - -	1,055
Carried forward	29,912

* The Goshoyns carry on a very extensive trade. It is calculated that the number residing in these 500 dwellings amount to 10,000 persons, and on the arrival of their cheylahs from foreign parts in pilgrimage, 35,000 have been counted at the time of the distribution of the bundharra.

† At the celebration of marriages 3000 of this class of people have been counted.

N.B. Exclusive of the above residents, the number of pilgrims at all times in the city, may be taken at ten thousand. On certain Hindoo festivals the number of persons resorting to the city exceeds all calculation.

	Number of Houses.
Brought forward	29,912
Dealers in grain, Hindoos, chiefly Rajepoots, - -	1,880
Confectioners, Hindoos, - - - - -	500
Taillees or oil manufacturers, Hindoos, - - -	300
Venders of oil by retail, Hindoos, - - - -	50
Sellers of pawn or tumollees, Hindoos, - - -	800
Silversmiths and goldsmiths - - - - -	564
Dyers, turners, and makers of hooka snakes, Hindoos and Mussulmauns, - - - - - -	157
Tobacconists, Hindoos and Mussulmauns, - - -	600
Taylors and ruffooghurs, Hindoos and Mussulmauns, -	358
Platers of silver, and platers of tin, Hindoos, and Mussulmauns,	25
Makers of bracelets, Hindoos and Mussulmauns, - -	73
Makers of silk twist, Hindoos, - - - -	256
Brick-makers, lime-burners, and potters or koomars Hindoos and Mussulmauns, - - - - - -	835
Labourers of all descriptions, Hindoos, chiefly Rajepoots,	1,200
Butchers, poulterers, fowlers, and fishermen, Hindoos and Mahomedans, - - - - - - -	284
Bakers and victuallers, Mussulmauns, - - - -	243
Venders of spirituous liquors and intoxicating drugs -	86
Sellers of paper and almanacs, Hindoos, - - -	32
Sellers of fireworks, Mussulmauns, - - - -	22
Sellers of embroidered leather and cloth, shoes, and slippers	150
Dhomes, chumars, and sweepers - - - -	616
Total	38,943

In the above detail are not included the following description of persons:

	Persons.
The family and dependants of her Royal Highness the Begum, and of the Prince Mirza Khorum Bukt, calculated to consist of - - - - - - - - -	1000
The family and dependants of the Prince Mirza Shegoofta Bukt	300
The dependants of Princess Ichaunabadee - - -	125
The dependants of the son of the late Nawaub Dil Dilleerkhawn - - - - - - - -	100
The dependants of the Rajah of Rypaul - -	1000
The dependants of Rajah Ooditnarain, residing in the city	400
The dependants of the wife of Gholaum Mohamed Khawn	150
Total	3,075

The following descriptions are also omitted in the above detail, viz.

Persons supposed to get their livelihood by forgery -	40
Persons supported by giving false evidence in courts of justice, &c.	400
Receivers of stolen goods - - - - - -	50
Persons supposed to live entirely by theft - - -	200
Notorious gamesters - - - - - - -	40
Persons who have been apprehended by courts of justice for theft, punished and released, and still on the town -	150
Persons suspected of Khana Jungee, for Baunkas* -	400
Persons apprehended on charge of Khana Jungee by the courts, punished and released, and now in the city - -	100
Dissolute and abandoned characters, possessing no ostensible means of subsistence, and supposed to be concerned in frauds, breaches of the peace, &c. - - - - - -	200
Total	1,580

* The Baunkas are bravoes, so called from the peculiar curve of their swords.

II.

Letter from Seyd Ahmed Ally Khan, Shems-ud-Dowlah, Amir-ul-Mulk, Zulfucar Jung Behadar, to Zummaun Shah; referred to in p. 110.

After the usual compliments.

FROM the beginning the decrees of Providence have so ordered, that when the affairs of the world are changed and in a ruinous state, the Divine Greatness selects some one, particularly favoured by heaven, assists him, and extends his power over the world, that mankind may prosper by his just administration. In these times, while disorder rears her head to the skies, and religious, as well as worldly concerns, are in the greatest confusion, the Almighty disposer of events has placed your illustrious Majesty on the throne, that you may give peace to mankind and improve their condition. Considering your Majesty as the support and champion of the true faith, I am happy to offer my services in the most zealous manner, and rank myself among the propagators of our holy religion. Such is the desire of my heart, and my religious zeal, that I observe, and presume to represent in an open and unreserved manner, the evils under which this country labours, and to state to your Majesty my own wishes. However great were the obstacles to my submitting myself to your Majesty's protection, I have at length fortunately surmounted them, and trusting to Providence, have dispatched this letter to your Majesty's court by Sheik Alli of Amil, who will explain fully all circumstances and contingencies

relating to this country. I hope your Majesty will be pleased to hear him. I beg leave to observe, that owing to the imbecility of the House of Timour, and the contempt into which it has fallen of late years, the powerful have been weakened, and the weak become powerful; worthless unbelievers and ambitious villains have started up from every corner, boldly conquered all these countries, and established themselves here: as the poet observes, "When the lions leave the plain the jackals become bold." For these reasons, religion, which should be so highly prized, is here lost, and of no value; nothing of Islamism remains but the mere name. They have so stripped and reduced the principal Mussulmauns, that they have no resource, and are obliged implicitly to obey their orders. The Mussulmauns are become vile and wretched; the honour of the great men is gone; Christians seize and keep by force the daughters of Syeds and Mussulmans. Under these circumstances, when we can no longer act openly, it behoves us to exert ourselves secretly in the cause of religion. If your Majesty's victorious standards shall be directed towards these parts for the establishment of religion, and destruction of its enemies, by God's assistance your Majesty will in a short time, and without any difficulty, conquer this country, and annihilate your enemies. Sheik Ally will state all these things particularly. I hope your Majesty will be graciously pleased to number me among your attached slaves.

III.

Account of the Stones that fell from the Sky on the 20th December, 1799, referred to in p. 119.

Related by Cauzy Syud Hussein Ally.

On the 20th of December 1798, (ought to be 9) or 27th of Aghun 1206 Fussily, when four ghurries of the night had passed, a great meteor, which in the Hindoo language is called Look, fell from the westward. It gave a great light, and breaking in the air, divided into several pieces. First, three reports like the firing of cannon were heard, afterwards many like the firing of musquets. At that time no one saw any thing fall; but next morning, when the villagers went out of the village to take their cattle to graze, and to watch their corn-fields, they saw pieces of stone which had fallen. The number of angles of the stones was from eight to three, and they weighed from five seer (about ten lbs.) to four pice (about a quarter of a pound). They had fallen on the fallow and cultivated fields out of the village, but not on the house of any one: whoever found them carried them away. They fell on a space of one coss (two miles) in length in the villages Jewar, and Secroreh, in the Vizier's dominions, and in the villages Guddowlee, Cutthowlee, and Gopoulpoor, in Tuppeh Pissareh, in the Company's territories. The stones were of a black colour, and a smell came from them like that of burnt gunpowder. On being broken they appeared internally like shining sand of a crumbling nature.

Detail.

(Whether of the number that fell, or of the number that were picked up is not mentioned.)

In the lands of the village Jewar, and the village Secroreh, in the Pergunnah Deogaow, in the Nawaub Vizier's dominions, five or six pieces of stone great and small. In the lands of the villages in the Tuppeh Pissareh, in the Pergunnah Herakut, under the jurisdiction of the Juanpoor Adawlut, and the collectorship of Baboo Naik Sing Tehseeldar, three pieces of stone, viz. in the village Guddowlee, one; in the village Cutthowlee, one; in the village Gopoulpoor, one.

Relation of Sheo Dial Sing, Zemindar of the village Cutthowlee.

The fall of the meteor from the westward with the illumination, the breaking of the meteor in the air, the noises like cannon and musquetry late in the evening of the day above mentioned, are true and correct. On the following morning as I was sitting at my door, Bhool my ploughman brought me a piece of stone, weighing half a seer, of the colour and description aforesaid, which he said had fallen in a fallow field, in the village before mentioned.

Written by Sheo Dial, Zemindar of the village Cutthowlee. The relation which is written is true.

Witness, Bulwunt Sing.

Witness, Jul Ninnerman Sing.

Relation of Ugwunt Sing, Zemindar of the village Guddowlee.

The fall of the meteor, the illumination, and the noises as above described are true. The next day at twelve o'clock, I went to the said village, when Ujun, watchman, who resided there, brought me

a piece of stone weighing six chatta uk (about three quarters of a pound), which he said had fallen in the corn fields; I looked at it, and brought it home, and my elder brother, Monear Sing, gave it to one of the Collector's Chupeassies, who had come in search of the stones.

Written by Ugwunt Sing, Zemindar of the village Guddowlee. The relation is true. Witness Duswunt Sing.

Relation of Bejoo Sing, Zemindar of the village Gopoulpoor.

We were alarmed by the fall of the meteor, the illumination and the noises above mentioned. Next morning I went out of the village with some other men, in order to search for the stones. We saw the pieces of stone brought by Bhool the ploughman, and Ujun the watchman; we looked about for other pieces, and in the fallow land of the village Purtaubpoor, we found one which weighed something less than one half of a seer (about one lb.). At this time several persons were coming from the quarter of Secroreh and Jewar, and from what they said, it appeared that many pieces of stone of the above description had fallen in these villages, in the fallow and cultivated fields, and were carried away by those who found them.

Written by Bejoo Sing, Zemindar of the village Gopoulpoor. The relation which is written is true.

Relation of Bhool, Ploughman, inhabitant of the village of Cutthowlee.

At sun-rise I went out of the village, taking my plough on my back to plough a field for sugar-cane. Near that field I saw a piece

of stone lying on the fallow land ; I was surprised, and taking it up, I brought it away; I carried it to Sheo Dial to show it to him; he took it from me and kept it, saying he would show it to every body.

(Signed) Written by Bhool, Ploughman, the relation which is written is true.

Relation of Ujun, Watchman, inhabitant of the village of Guddowlee.

As I went out of the village to look at the rubby crop, I observed at the edge of the field of barley about a cubit's space of the grain beaten down. I entered the field, and there found a black piece of stone. It appeared to me, that by the force of this stone the stalks of the corn had been broken. I brought this stone away, and kept it, when Ugwunt Sing coming to my village, I gave it to him.

(Signed) Written by Ujun, Watchman. The relation which I have caused to be written is true.

Written 18th September, 1798. (ought to be 9.)

(Signed)

Witness, Muniar Sing.

Ditto, Hur Dial.

IV.

Some Account of the gold Medals, said, erroneously, by Tavernier and other Writers, to have been coined in one day by Nur Jehan Begum, Queen of Jehangir; communicated in a Letter from Major Gore Ouseley; referred to in p. 120.

" The tradition of their having been coined by Nur Jehan Begum, the Queen of Jehangir, is preposterous in itself, and totally discredited by all the natives of science and research I have ever had any opportunity of conversing with on the subject. It is supposed by the more enlightened natives, that the Emperor, on the celebration of the anniversary of his birth or reign, ordered medals to be struck with the sign of the Zodiac in which the sun was when such anniversary occurred, which his long reign, and the difference of solar and lunar years, would easily have allowed to pass through the whole number. I am persuaded that they were medals, and not a coin for current purposes. Annexed is the inscription, in verse, as it should be read. All, that I have ever seen, have been struck at Agra.

یافت در اکره روي زر زیور
از جهانکیر شاه شاه اکبر

The following is a translation;

" The face of gold received ornament in Agra,

" From (the name of) Jehangir Shah, the son of King Acber."

V.

A short Account of the Origin and Purposes of the religious Buildings in Hindostan called Imaum-baurah; referred to in p. 158

THE history of the successors of Mohammed, recorded by various writers both Oriental and European, comprizes a detail of the misfortunes that pursued his descendants, and terminated in the death of his grandson Imaum Hosein, in the celebrated field of Kerbullaw, and the consequent transfer of his dominions to a foreign branch. It is to commemorate the death of the Imaums, or Pontiffs, descendants of Mohammed, and particularly Imaum Hassan and Imaum Hosein, grandsons of Mohammed by his daughter Fatima and his cousin Alli, who are all considered as martyrs, that the edifices called "Imaum-baurah" are erected.

After the death of Mohammed, notwithstanding the high pretentions of Alli, his cousin and son-in-law, the choice of his successor fell upon Abboo-Bukker; nor was it till after the three successive reigns of Abboo-Bukker, Omar, and Othman, that the Califat (Khilaufut) reverted to the line of Mohammed in the person of Alli. It was this order of succession that occasioned the existing division of the whole Mussulmaun tribe into two distinct, and, with respect to each other, intolerant classes, the Sheeas, and the Soonnees; the former considering Abboo-Bukker, Omar, and Othman, as usurpers, to the prejudice of the rights of Alli, whom they hold in a degree of respect bordering upon adoration; and the latter maintaining the superior title of those three Caliphs, both as Princes

and as Pontiffs. It is therefore among the Sheeas only that the fate of Alli and his offspring is commemorated.

The feeble administration of Othman, which terminated in his assassination, had encouraged numerous insurrections, which his successor Alli was employed in quelling, when his attention and his arms were attracted by a more formidable adversary; Moveeyah, the Governor of Syria, who had assumed the title of Caliph, and who, after a long and obstinate contest,* which ceased with the murder of Alli, and the voluntary abdication of his eldest son Hassan, succeeded to the throne. His son and successor Yezeed, jealous of the superior title of Hassan, who had retired to Medina, instructed the Governor of that place to put him to death; and he was accordingly carried off, (as the Mohammedans relate) by pounded diamonds infused into his beverage through the treachery of his wife. The remaining son of Alli, Hosein, encouraged to assert his title by information secretly conveyed to him, that a numerous body of Mussulmauns at Cufa were prepared to support his cause, and would join him on his approach, unadvisedly repaired with such followers as he could collect, to that city. But this was a stratagem on the part of Yezeed for the destruction of his rival; who, 'ere reaching the plain of Kerbullaw, was surrounded and attacked by the troops of the usurper, and with the enthusiastic order of self devoted martyrs, Hosein and all his family maintained the combat, until every individual (one of his sons

* The prowess of Alli during the contest, in which it is said he was engaged in seventy-two battles, and the cause in which he fought, obtained him the appellation of "the Lion of God;" and contributed equally with his illustrious descent to the veneration in which he is held by his modern votaries.

excepted) perished by the sword. The circumstances of this tragical event, in themselves not unaffecting, are particularly calculated, with the aid of bigotry, to excite the fury of religious indignation, and they are worked up by the Sheea votaries of Mohammed with much ingenuity and great effect.

The above event occurring on the tenth day of the month of Mohurrum, the first ten days of that month have, through the enthusiasm of the followers of Alli, been devoted to lamentation, for the martyrdom of him and his descendants; but it is in Hindostan only that edifices have been erected for the express purpose, as indeed the etymology of their name shews, the word "Imaum" being Arabic, and the word "baurah" a house, in the Hindostan language. At these places the people, for the most part clothed in green, or black, as mourning, assemble the first ten nights of the month of Mohurrum, to hear read from the pulpit the tragical history of the martyrdom of Hassan and Hosein, to which is added that of the other saints. The relation is heightened by circumstances of language, gesture, and delivery, that are calculated to excite emotion in the breasts of the hearers; but it seems to inspire them with fury and indignation rather than sorrow, and prompts them to a spirit of revenge, which not unfrequently finds its object in the votaries of another persuasion, and particularly in the followers of the Soonnee doctrines. At the intervals of the relation, the more enthusiastic of the assembly beat their breasts with violence, calling at every blow alternately upon the names of Hassan and Hosein, while others content themselves with the mere motion and the repetition of the names.

The scene of these lamentations however is by no means confined

to the Imaum-baurahs; assemblies are held in many private houses, and other places, where the martyrdom of the Imaums is recited in verse or prose; and parties of the mourners, inflamed either by those readings, or by the working of their own imaginations, parade the streets with the most frantic demonstrations of grief, and being for the most part armed, it is often dangerous to meet them under the influence of their religious frenzy.

Portable tombs or coffins richly ornamented with gilding and with various standards, indicating the field of battle, are also placed in the Imaum-baurah during the term of mourning, and are carried in procession on the morning of the tenth day to some spot at a distance, where, in imitation of the sepulture of the Imaums, flowers taken from these coffins are deposited in the ground, and this closes the mourning.

The Imaum-baurahs are of no determinate form or size; that at Lucknow is magnificent and extensive. The principal hall is about one hundred and seventy feet in length, by about sixty in breadth; and in the Mohurrum, the late Nawaub Vizier Assof-ud-Dowlah used to suspend lustres in rows, as close as their size would admit, the whole length of the chamber. There is behind it another chamber of equal length, but narrower; and at each end is a chamber about sixty feet square, surmounted by an elegant dome; and these constitute the body of the Imaum-baurah, which is the farthest back in the building. The buildings in front are façades, with gateways leading to the principal building. The mosque on the right side, of which a representation is given in one of Mr. Salt's larger views, belongs to and is connected with the Imaum-baurah, although such buildings do not require that mosques should be attached to them.

VI.

Account of the Saint of Muckunpore, as referred to in p. 204.

Huzrut Syed Buddiudeen Kotbul Muddar, the blessing of God be upon him! son of Syed Allie, (inhabitant of Helub) son of Syed Buhawoodeen, son of Syed Zuheeruddeen, son of Syed Ahmud, son of Syed Mahomed, son of Syed Ismail, son of Eman Jafer Sadick, son of Eman Mahomed Backer, son of Zonial Abedeen, son of Eman Hossein, the son of Ameer-ul-Momuneen, Alli; blessings of God be upon him! Muddar was born at Helub, in the year 442 of the Hejira, in the reign of Sultaun Maumoon Rusheed Abassee, and when one hundred years old he went on a pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina, and paid his necessary respects, and performed his ceremonies there, and then was permitted by Mahomed to Habesdum, (which is a kind of prayer by stopping the breath.) In the time of Sultan Ebrahim Sherkey, he was ordered by Mahomed to reside at Muckunpore; this Muckunpore was deserted on account of an evil genius called Muckna Deo. Muddar went to that place, confined the genius, and caused the place to be inhabited, and called it Muckunpore, which name it still retains. The prophet spent his time in religious exercises; he had also the power of performing miracles, which being published throughout Hindostan, people from all parts came to visit him. He had fourteen hundred and forty-two sons, amongst them three, who were born of one mother. The first Kaja Shah Argoon, the second Kha Shah Funsoor, and the third

Kha Shah Toyfoor, (the blessings of God be upon them!) who also resided at Muckunpore. Of other sons, Khaja Jaunmun resided at Hilsa, near Azimabad, Kha Muzher at Mahawer, Kha Mahmood at Kuntoor, near Lucknow, Baba Cupoor at Goaliar, Kha Shehabudden Dowletabadee at Bara Canoo near Nabob Gunge, and the rest in different places. In the Hejira 837, on the 7th of Jemadial Awael, he left this world for the abode of the Prophet; and on account of his great fame, religion, and power to perform wonders, the anniversary of his death has since that time been celebrated by a meeting at Muckunpore The age of the prophet was three hundred and ninety-five years, nine months, and twenty-six days, and from his death to this time is about three hundred and eighty years. The place of rouzah, or tomb, was built by Sultan Ebrahim Sherkey.

Colonel Stewart adds, that their history says he was wrecked in the Red Sea, and with eleven others got on a plank; they were lost, but he escaped, and on coming to shore found an old man, who was the Indian Neptune, and beyond Mahomed.

VII

Treaty offered to the Candian Court, by General Macdowall, as referred to in page 296.

A TREATY of firm and perpetual Alliance and Friendship, between His Britannick Majesty and the Honourable United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies, on the one part, and the King of Candy and the Nobles of His Court on the other; offered on the part of His said Britannick Majesty by His Excellency Major-General Hay Macdowall, Embassador *Extraordinary* and Commissioner Plenipotentiary to the Court of Candy, in virtue of full powers in him for that purpose vested by His Excellency the Honourable Frederick North, Governor of Ceylon, &c.

ARTICLE I. His Britannick Majesty and the Honourable Company, their heirs and successors, and the King of Candy, his heirs and successors, and the Nobles of his Court, mutually agree to a firm and perpetual alliance and friendship.

II. His Britannick Majesty and the Honourable Company recognize the present King of Candy, and they shall consider all his Candian Majesty's enemies to be their enemies.

III. In order to secure the honour and safety of his Candian Majesty, and his successor, his Excellency the Governor of the British possessions on Ceylon shall send immediately into his Majesty's territories, a detachment of between seven and eight hundred men, which force may hereafter be increased, as occasion

may require; and as the troops are to be employed for the purpose of securing the King on his throne, and defending him against all his enemies, foreign and domestic, his Candian Majesty agrees to defray the expense of four hundred men, with a proportion of officers of the said force: that is to say, to pay the usual allowances of subsistence, batta, and provisions, to the officers and soldiers, which shall be issued by his Majesty's orders, in money, rice, and grain of various sorts, pepper, coffee, areka, elephants, ivory, wax, cardamums, and other produce of the island, to be appraised at a fair valuation, by persons appointed by both the high contracting parties. As soon as the number of the troops is fixed, a statement of the monthly expence shall be delivered to the ministers, to be laid before the King; and as the English nation desire to prove to the King, and Nobles, the sincerity of the present professions, and of the great respect and attachment which are felt for the King's person and dignity, the troops which are stationed in his dominions shall only be considered as the defenders of him and his successors, and to support and maintain them in all their rights and prerogatives.

IV. His Candian Majesty, and the Nobles of his Court, acknowledge the full and entire sovereignty of his Britannick Majesty, over all such territories on the Island of Ceylon as were in the possession of the Dutch.

V. The English Governor on Ceylon is permitted to send cinnamon peelers into all the districts of his Candian Majesty's dominions lying below Ballanic Hill, whenever he may choose so to do; and his Candian Majesty will, upon application from the Governor, at all times grant his permission to send the peelers to

the eastward of Ballanic should his Excellency the Governor express a wish to that purport.

VI. His Candian Majesty grants his permission to the English Government on Ceylon, to cut such timber as may be selected in all his Majesty's forests, lying below Ballanic Hill, and to transport it either by land, or water, to any place where they may wish to convey it; and the English engage not to cut down such trees as may be the property of individuals. His Candian Majesty also agrees to let the English cut wood to the eastward of Ballanic, upon the same conditions mentioned in the last Article with respect to cinnamon.

VII. It is agreed that a free trade shall be opened between the countries, subject to both Governments, and that no duties shall be exacted on the common frontier by either party.

VIII. The native-born subjects of both, or either of the two high contracting Parties, being in the territory of the other, shall enjoy the same protection and privileges, and be subject to the same laws, as the subjects of the Power in whose territory they are, with the exception of the British troops, who are to be subject to their own military law. But after this treaty shall have been signed, all persons guilty of violent outrages, and who may take refuge in the country of either of the contracting parties, are upon requisition to be mutually delivered up.

IX. The religion of the Candians, their temples or pagodas, and the lands attached to them, as well as the priests, shall be respected by the English, and all his Britannick Majesty's subjects shall have the strictest injunctions given to them not to offer disrespect, or insult, to any of the objects of the Candian worship, under pain of the severest punishment.

VIII.

Treaty of Peace, referred to in page 298.

Articles of Convention entered into between His Highness Prince Mootoo Sawmy, on the one part, and His Excellency Frederick North, Governor, Captain General, and Commander in Chief in and over the British Settlements on the Island of Ceylon, on the other part, for the attainment of the just Objects of the present War, the speedy Restoration of Peace, and the general Security and Happiness of the Inhabitants of this Island.

ARTICLE I. The British Government on Ceylon agrees to deliver over to Prince Mootoo Sawmy the town of Candy, and all the possessions dependent on the Crown of Candy, now occupied by the British arms, excepting the province of the Seven Corles, the two hill forts of Geriagamme and Gallegedereh, and a line of land not exceeding, in breadth, the half of a Cingalese camouchy, across the Candian territories, for the purpose of making a direct road from Colombo to Trincomalé, which road shall not pass through the district known by the name of the Gravets of the town of Candy; which aforesaid province, forts, and line of land, Prince Mootoo Sawmy hereby solemnly agrees to cede in full sovereignty to His Britannick Majesty for ever.

II. Prince Mootoo Sawmy further engages, that he will consider the enemies of his Britannick Majesty's imperial crown as his own enemies; and that he will not, directly or indirectly, enter into any treaty or negotiation with any Prince or state, without the consent

of his said Britannic Majesty, or of the Governor of his settlements on Ceylon for the time being.

III. As Prince Mootoo Sawmy is undoubted heir to the last lawful King of Candy, the British Government will recognize him as King of Candy, as soon as he shall have taken upon himself that title with the usual solemnities, and ratified the present convention; and in case the said Prince should require an auxiliary force to maintain his authority, the British Government shall afford him troops; the expense of such troops, during their employment in the service of the said Prince, being to be defrayed by him, at a rate to be agreed upon.

IV. It is mutually agreed that all duties on the common frontier shall be abolished, and none established except by mutual consent.

V. It is agreed by Prince Mootoo Sawmy, that all Malays now resident in the Candian territories shall be sent with their families into the British territories, as shall likewise all Europeans and Portuguese who may not obtain a license from the Governor of the British Possessions to reside in the said Candian territories; and all Europeans and Portuguese who may commit crimes within the Candian territories, shall be sent to the British territories for trial.

VI. It is mutually agreed, that all natives of Ceylon or of India, except such Portuguese as are mentioned in the last article, shall be subject to the laws and tribunals of the country where the offence may have been committed.

VII. Prince Mootoo Sawmy promises and agrees, that he will protect, to the utmost of his power, the monopoly of cinnamon enjoyed by the British Government; that he will allow the cinna-

mon peelers belonging to the said British Government, to gather cinnamon in his territories to the west of the Balany Candy; and that he will furnish as much cinnamon as may be required at the price of forty rix dollars per bale of eighty pounds.

VIII. Prince Mootoo Sawmy also engages to permit persons duly authorised by the British Government to cut wood in all his forests.

IX. The said Prince also engages not to prohibit, either directly or indirectly, the exportation of paddy-grain and areka-nut from his territories without consent of the British Government.

X. Prince Mootoo Sawmy furthermore engages to give a safe conduct to the Prince lately on the throne, to retire into the British territories with his family, and to allow him a certain sum for his maintenance, which shall be agreed upon hereafter by the parties to these articles, provided it be not less than five hundred rix dollars per mensem during the term of his natural life.

XI. And for the better re-establishment of public tranquillity, Prince Mootoo Sawmy engages to allow such persons as have rendered themselves obnoxious to him, by opposing his just claims, to retire, with their wives and families, money, jewels, and moveable property, into the British territory on Ceylon, there to remain unmolested.

XII. It is moreover stipulated, that every encouragement shall be given by each party to the subjects of the other in prosecuting fair and lawful commerce.

XIII. The subjects of his Britannick Majesty, duly authorised by the British Government on Ceylon, shall have liberty to travel with their merchandize throughout the Candian territories, to build houses, and purchase and sell their goods without let or hindrance.

XIV. The subjects of the Crown of Candy shall, on the other hand, be allowed to settle and carry on trade in the British settlements on Ceylon, and to purchase and send into Candy all merchandizes, salt, salt-fish, &c. on the same terms with the native subjects of his Britannick Majesty.

XV. The British Government shall be allowed to examine the rivers and water-courses in the Candian territories, and shall be assisted by the Candian Government in rendering them navigable, for the purposes of trade and the mutual advantages of both countries.

XVI. For the more perfect maintenance of these Articles, and of good understanding and amity between the contracting parties, Prince Mootoo Sawmy consents and agrees that a Minister, on the part of the British Government, shall be permitted, whenever it may be required, to reside at the Court of Candy, and be received and protected with the honours due to his public rank and character.

XVII. These Articles being agreed upon between Prince Mootoo Sawmy and the Governor of the British Settlements on Ceylon, shall be immediately transmitted to his Majesty for his royal confirmation, and shall, in the mean time, be acted upon with good faith by both the contracting parties, according to their true intent and meaning.

A Convention having been entered into between the British Government of Ceylon and his Majesty King Mootoo Sawmy; the Illustrious Lord Pelame Telawve, First Adigaar of the Court of Candy; the Second Adigaar, and the other Nobles of the Court agree to, and become parties in the same;

On condition that his Majesty King Mootoo Sawmy deliver over

the administration of the provinces belonging to the Crown of Candy to the aforesaid Pelame Telawve, with the title of Ootoon Komarayen (or Grand Prince), during the term of his natural life, and continue to reside and hold his court at Jaffnapatnam, or in such other part of the British territories on Ceylon as may be agreed on between his said Majesty and the British Government.

And for the proper maintenance of his royal dignity, the aforesaid Pelame Telawve engages to pay annually to his said Majesty, the sum of thirty thousand rix dollars in British currency, and to fulfil all the engagements entered into by his Majesty with the British Government.

And for the better security of the payment of the sums stipulated to be paid to King Mootoo Sawmy, as well as to the King lately on the throne of Candy, the said Pelame Telawve agrees to deliver to the British Government at Columbo, in the course of every year, the amount of twenty thousand ammonams of good areka-nut, each ammonam containing twenty-four thousand nuts, at the rate of six rix dollars British currency per ammonam, to be paid to the agents of the said Pelame Telawve by the said British Government, in coined copper to that amount, or in such other articles as may be agreed on between the parties.

And the British Government will, in that case, charge itself with the payment of the allowance stipulated for both those Princes.

And the Adigaar, Pelame Telawve, agrees to cede in perpetuity to the British Government, the village and district of Goniavile (or Elevele), now called Fort Macdowall, in exchange for the hill fort of Giriagame, which the British Government cedes again to Pelame Telawve.

And it is still farther agreed upon, that all the Princes and Princesses of the Royal family now in confinement, shall be immediately set at liberty and allowed to settle, with their personal property, where ever they choose; and that a general amnesty and pardon shall be observed on both sides, as well towards those who have opposed, as towards those who have supported, the claims of King Mootoo Sawmy, in the late or any former contest.

And it is hereby agreed by his Majesty King Mootoo Sawmy on his part; by his Excellency Frederick North, Governor of the British possession on Ceylon on the part of his Government; and by the most Illustrious Lord Pelame Telawve, First Adigaar, on his part, and on that of the second Adigaar, and principal Nobles of the Court, that the Articles above agreed upon shall be carried into effect, fully and completely, as soon as the Prince lately on the throne of Candy shall be delivered into the hands of the British Government, and that till then a perfect truce and cessation of hostilities shall continue between all the contracting Parties.

And the said contracting parties have in faith thereof set to the said Articles their seals, and signed them with their names respectively

(Signed) FREDERICK NORTH.
and, PELAME TELAWVE, in Cingalese.

IX.

Some Account of the Cingalese Casts, as given me by my respectable and learned friend, Mr. Tolfrey.

The epoch in which we now are is called the Mahabadre Calpaya,* previous to which there had been consumed by fire, a thousand millions of millions of sackvals, or worlds. Two only remained, the world of Brachma in the highest region, and the world of winds in the lowest. All living creatures having been destroyed with the sackvals that were consumed, they were regenerated in the uppermost region and became Brachmas, without any distinction of cast. Some of these Brachmas returned to the sackvals they had formerly inhabited, on their being reproduced, but from avarice degenerated to such a degree that they began to steal. Upon this quarrels arose among them, and there being no chief to decide these disputes, their wise men reflected that the world would not be in a proper state without some kind of government. Upon this they met and selected from among them a person renowned for wisdom, whom

* Mahabadre Calpaya. The Cingalese have two modes of computing the duration of this period. Five Antagh kalpas make one Mahabādre kalpeé. In the course of one thousand years the earth increases in height one finger's breadth. A span, viyata, (or twelve fingers breadths) make one riyana, (or cubit). Seven riyans make one yaté. Twenty yata make one assumba ; eighty assumba make one kosa, four kosa make one gouwa, and seven and a half gouwa, one antah kalpa. Or, there is a stone four cubits square: a god dressed in white muslin passes this stone once in a hundred years; the muslin robe waved by the wind touches this stone as it passes; when, by the attrition this occasions, the stone shall have been reduced to the size of a grain of mustard, one antagh kalpé will have elapsed.

they appointed to be their King, saying to him, "Thou art our King; we will give to thee one tenth part of the substance we may acquire; be thou a judge, and a ruler over us." This King was called Maha Sammata, a compound word, which signifies a great assembly, to indicate that he had been chosen by the consent of many people. This King after his election proceeded to divide his subjects into the following casts, namely:

Rajah wānsaya, the King's cast, which from that time became the chief rulers of the earth.

Brahmana wānsaya, the cast of Brahmins skilled in science.

Wanija wānsaya, the merchants' cast.

Gowi wānsaya, the cast of Gowis to cultivate the ground.

This last is the cast known in Ceylon by the name of Vellal, which however is not a Cingalese word. These Gowis or Vellals are of the highest cast on the island, there being none of the three superior casts, except the King of Candy, who is of the first.

The above are the four superior casts. The following casts are constituted to serve them.

Danduwaduyo, wood carpenters.

Wiyanno, weavers.

Raduda, washermen.

Aymbayttayo, barbers.

Hannāli, taylors.

Ratā kārayo, carriage makers.

Badālu, workers of metals.

Mālākārayo, planters of flowering shrubs and makers of wreaths of flowers.

Kumbalu, potters.

Sittaru, painters.

Gahalayo, Builders of the walls of houses.

Kullupotto, or Hinnāwo, makers of sieves and mats.

Liyana waduwo, turners.

Achāri, blacksmiths.

Díyāluwo, water carriers.

Wénākārayo, musicians who play upon a stringed instrument.

Aiwaduwo, arrow makers.

Nalā kārayo, flute players.

Ayttalayo, elephant feeders.

Pupa wéléndo, dealers in cakes,

Rāwéléndo, toddy sellers,

Séppidiwijji kārayo, sorcerers.

Sukari kayos, pig killers.

Māgawi kayo, deer slayers.

Sākani kayo, bird killers.

Waguri kayo, those who catch fish with cast nets.

Bāri kayo, carriers of burthens.

Bāak ayo, persons employed in providing food.

Dāsayo, slaves.

Chandā layo, inhabitants of the woods, who strip the skins of animals to make thongs for the King's use.

Véddo, a people who live wild in the woods, and kill wild beasts,

The above order of casts is extracted from the Cingalese books, Jinālan kāraya, thanksgivings of Boudhou; Ian indaya, the people's happiness; and a dictionary of Pali, by Andries Mohundrum, a learned native, in whose possession the books are. These several casts are recognised by Boudhists in general, but are not all of them

to be found in this island. There is another arrangement made by Vijia Rajah, the first King of Lakdiva, or Ceylon, which is set forth in a book written by himself in the Cingalese language called Nitiyah.

Vijia Rajah was the eldest son of the King Sinhabā, who lived in a city named after him, in the kingdom of Lādadésayé. He arrived at Ceylon in the fifty-sixth year of the æra of the last Boudhou, seven days after Boudhou had become Nivani,* that is two thousand two hundred and ninety years ago, the present being the year of Boudhou two thousand three hundred and forty-six. Vijia Rajah brought with him seven hundred giants. At the time he came here the island was inhabited by devils only: these he destroyed, and made it a residence for human beings. He reigned *thirty-eight* years, and established the following casts and classes, to perform service in the King's palace, and to punish those who commit crimes.

Durāvos. This is the cast commonly called Chandos, which is not a Cingalese word. The name duravo is compounded of two words, which signify, come from afar.

There are ten subdivisions of this cast in the following order.

Pati kārayo, cowherds.
Porawa kārayo, fellers of timber.
Hari durāvo, proper duravos.
Magul durāvo, riders of the King's elephants.
Aynadi, the servants of the four preceding classes who carry their pingos (loads), talpots (umbrellas), &c.

* Nivani has been represented as a state of happiness, but it is the death of the soul, which, according to the creed of the Boudhists, becomes mortal after it has attained a state of purity.

Kuttādi, dancers.

Balibattu, persons whose office it is to offer rice to the images of the nine planets. These persons alone are allowed to eat this rice.

Pannayo, elephant fodderers,

Nattambu, the drawers of toddy.

Hiwattayo, the washermen of this cast.

Karāwo. There are nine subdivisions of this cast, which is commonly called the fisherman's cast; it derives its name from a compound word which signifies "evil doers," because the occupation of the cast is the destroying of animals, which by the religion of Boudhou is forbidden.

Dunuwayeli, archers.

Williya, ensnarers of birds.

Wadekayo, executioners.

Ugulwaydi, makers of traps for ensnaring animals.

Kayman wadi, persons who catch fish by an instrument called kayman.

Paksi waydi, bird catchers.

Muhududayl waydi, persons who fish in the sea with nets.

Kaywulo, fishermen with lines.

Maswikunanno, the sellers of fish.

Pass méhé karuyo, the five performers of service.

Danduwaduwo, carpenters.

Wiyanno, weavers.

Radda, washermen.

Ambayttayo, barbers.

Sommāru, shoemakers.

Nawaymiyo, the nine services.

These nine persons are servants to the four highest casts, namely,

Sittaru, painters.

Achāri, iron smiths.

Liyana waduwo, turners.

Gàl waduwo, stone cutters.

Ee waduwo, arrow makers.

Tarehallo. goldsmiths.

Yamānu, solderers of metals.

Oli, makers of masks.

Hommāru, persons who remove the dead bodies of animals, and dress their skins.

Tolil kārayo, peculiar service.

Hannāli, taylors.

Hakuro, cooks.

Hunnā, chunam makers.

Berawāyo, tom-tom beaters,

Paduwo, coolies who carry palanquins.

The following twenty-one are low casts.

Ganraykawallu, village watchmen.

Andi, beggars, by cast.

Wallu, slaves.

Pidayni danno, persons who make offerings to devils.

Gahalayo, scavengers.

Horu, thieves.

Kannu, persons born blind.

Koru, persons born lame.

Hinganno, beggars from poverty.

Dés ayrawo, strangers who travel for amusement.

Yakaduro, worshippers of the devil.

Pilu, persons born deaf and dumb.

Kustarogiyo, lepers.

————, persons who worship devils by dancing.

Kappuwo, servants who watch the temples.

Hénāwalayo, makers of fine mats.

Pali, washermen to the low casts.

Kinnarayo, makers of mats.

Rodiyo, persons who skin animals and live in the woods.

Kontayo, persons who carry the frame on which the King's palanquin is placed when he travels.

Hinnāwoh, washermen to the Gehalayos.

The seventh king from Vijia Rajah was called Petissa the Second; he began to reign two hundred and seventy-seven years after the arrival of Vijia Rajah, and reigned seventy years. At his request, Dormasoka, a great king, descended from the beforementioned race of Mahasamma, who reigned at that time over Dambadwa, and who lived in the city Peleloop, sent, together with the bough of the tree, Sre Maha Bodi,* eight princes of the race of Saki to preserve it, together with the following casts:

The brahmin cast, to give blessings.

* Bogaha. (Ficus religiosa.) This tree is planted at Anarajapoora, in the Wanni, a city mentioned by Ptolemy, which still retains some vestiges of its former grandeur. The tree is supposed to be still flourishing there, and the place is visited on that account by devout persons from every part of the island.

The sitty cast, to offer alms.
The merchants' cast, to offer incense, oil, and light.
The archers, to drive away birds.

Eight persons of each of these casts.

Tarachèyan, to make a sort of umbrellas called seysans.
Kulingayan, to bring flowers.
Kappakayan, to prepare food.
Balaltayan, door keepers.
Pésa kārayan, to furnish linen strainers to filter water. This is the cast of Chalias,* or cinnamon peelers, who continue to make strainers.
Kumba kārayan, potters.
Mālā kārayan, linkers of flowers.
Ganda kārayan, perfumers.
Sinda kārayan, taylors who make flags, canopies, and valences.
Supa kārayan, cooks.
Kamma kārayan, to furnish razors and scissars.
Loha kārayan, makers of gold and silver ornaments.
Swarna kārayan, makers of gold and silver pots.
Wadda kārayan, carpenters.
Chitta kārayan, to paint sessats or umbrellas.
Atochiwāda kārayan, to beat all kinds of drums.
Chalta kārayan, to make umbrellas.
Uyana palian, to plant flowering shrubs.

* This class disputes rank with the fishermen. The employment of peeling cinnamon has, from its importance to Europeans, given them an ascendancy, which has excited the jealousy and ill will of other casts, more dignified and less useful.

This arrangement of casts in the religion of Boudhou, is one of its strong features of resemblance to that of Brahma, which denotes their being derived from one common origin.

In the distinctions of professions here given, it is evident that some are rather classes than casts, according to the Gentoo acceptation of the word; but as they are all called casts in the original authors from whence this account is taken, I have not ventured to change the denomination.

S. TOLFREY.

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END OF VOL. I.

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